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THE
PARLIAMENTARY

OR

CONSTITUTIONAL
History of England;

Being a

FAITHFUL ACCOUNT

Of all the

Most remarkable TRANSACTIONS
IN PARLIAMENT,

From the earliest TIMES,

TO THE

Restoration of King CHARLES II.

COLLECTED

From the JOURNALS of both HOUSES, the RECORDS,
original MANUSCRIPTS, scarce SPEECHES, and
TRACTS; all compared with the several Cotem-
porary Writers, and connected, throughout, with
the History of the Times.

By SEVERAL HANDS,

VOL. IV.

Which finishes the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

L O N D O N,

Printed; and sold by Thomas Osborne, in Gray's Inn;

A N D

William Sandby, against St. Dunstan's Church, Fleet-street.

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CONSTITUTIONAL

History of England

By

W. L. G. A. C. O. U. T.

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1688-1689

COLLECTED

NOV 22 1927

From the Journals and the Records
of the House of Commons and
the House of Lords, and the
Records of the Privy Council.
By W. L. G. A. C. O. U. T.
and the History of the House

By several Hands.

Vol. II.

Which finishes the History of the House of Commons

L O N D O N

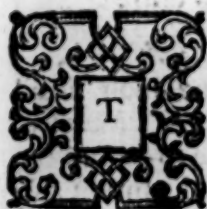
Printed and Sold by T. W. A. O. L. and in G. O. L.

at the House of Commons and the House of Lords

M D C C C



T H E
PARLIAMENTARY HISTORY
O F
E N G L A N D.



HE War with *France* being now actually begun, and the Sinews of it much wanted; Writs were sent out, dated at *Westminster*, *November* the 10th, for a Parliament to meet there, on the 11th Day of *January* following, in the 5th Year of this Reign.

Queen Elizabeth;

On the Day of their Meeting, the Queen, it seems, was again indisposed (a); and therefore another Writ of Prorogation was produced by the Lord Keeper and other Lords of the Council, and read, whereby this Parliament was prorogued only to the next Day, being the 12th of the same Month.

Anno Regni 5,
1562.
At Westminster;

On that Day the Parliament began; and it may not be amiss to give the Form of the Queen's Procession to the House (b). She rode that Morning from her Palace, in great State, to *Westminster Abbey*; accompany'd with all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal. The Queen was clad in a Crimson
Vol. IV. A Velvet

(a) She was somewhat sick of a Stych.

Com. Jour.

(b) *Styve's Annals*, p. 255. See *Drewe's Journal*, p. 58, &c., for the whole.

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Queen Elizabeth.
1562.

Velvet Robe, the Earl of *Northumberland* bearing the Sword before her; all the Heralds at Arms in their rich Mantles, Trumpets blowing, &c. The Bishops, twenty-two in Number, riding in their Robes of Scarlet lined, and Hoods down their Backs of *Minever* (c). The Queen lighted at our Lady of *Grace's* Chapel, and, with her noble and stately Retinue, went in at the North Door of the Abbey, where she heard a Sermon preach'd by Dr *Nowell*, Dean of *St Paul's*; and then a Psalm being sung, she and her honourable Company went out of the South Door, to the Parliament Chamber, and soon after to the House.

The Lord Keeper's Speech, and other initial Ceremonies, are omitted in the *Lords Journal*, but are supplied in *Sir Symonds Dewes's*. Who tells us, that the Queen being present, and the Houses met, the Lord Keeper, *Bacon*, by her Command, opened the Cause of the Summons in these Words:

My Lords and others of this honourable Assembly,

The Lord Keeper's Speech at Opening the Session.

‘ YOU shall understand, that my most dread
‘ and Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty,
‘ here present, hath commanded me to declare the
‘ Occasion of this Assembly; which I am not able
‘ (but unmeet) to do, as it ought to be done, among
‘ such a noble, wise and discreet Company. How-
‘ beit, knowing the Experience of her Majesty, bear-
‘ ing with such as do their good Wills, and your
‘ Honours Patience, in bearing with me in the like,
‘ afore this Time; it encourageth me the better
‘ herein, not doubting of the like at this present.
‘ Therefore, my Lords, the Occasion is, that ne-
‘ cessary Matters be provided for, propounded and
‘ scanned, and after agreed upon and ended, which
‘ afterwards shall remain and continue; which
‘ Matters, in my Judgment, may well be divided
‘ into two Parts; one touching Religion, for the
‘ setting forth of God's Honour and Glory; and
‘ the other concerning Policy, for the Common-
‘ wealth;

(c) Beaver Skin. *Minever*, a Fr. G. *Minuvair*, *Pellis*
Muris cujusdam Pontici ad suffulciendas Vestes bibernas expetita.
Skinner's Etym. Dict.

‘ wealth ; as well for Provision at home, as to provide for the Foreign Enemy abroad : Which said Matters of Religion, may again be divided into two Parts ; for God’s Cause being sincerely weighed, consider’d and followed, bringeth forth good Success in all Affairs ; and being not followed, but neglected, and made light of, how can any Thing prosper or take good Effect ? And the greater the Personages be which so abuse the same, the greater the Fault is, to the Damage of the whole Commonwealth ; for all Men’s Eyes be fixed on those who be in Authority ; for as the Head is, even so is the Foot ; and after the Superior followeth the Inferior. For as God’s Law itself is perfect, so there is no Imperfection therein, but that which cometh of ourselves, wherein I cannot excuse either the Spirituality or Laity. For as the Preachers be not so diligent in their Vocation of Preaching, as they ought to be, even so we of the Laity be neither so diligent in hearing, nor yet in doing, as we should be. And thirdly, some of the Laity, in not giving Credit unto it, as it ought for to be. For as all in Authority ought to be credited, and their Doings taken in the best Part, yet I would wish the same should continue no longer than they do well.

‘ And where at this present there is great Want of Ministers, and some of them that be, be much insufficient ; which, considering the Time, are to be born withall, not doubting the Circumspection of the Bishops, in well looking to the placing of such, which shall be appointed hereafter ; and those which be, and will not be reformed, to have sharp Punishment. For as heretofore the Discipline of the Church hath not been good ; and again, that the Ministers thereof have been slothful ; even so for Want of the same hath sprung two Enormities : The first is, that for lack thereof, every Man liveth as he will, without Fear ; and secondly, many Ceremonies agreed upon, but the right Ornaments thereof are either

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Queen Elizabeth.
1562.

left undone or forgotten. As in one Point, for
Want of Discipline it is that so few come to
Service, and the Church so un replenish'd, notwithstanding that at the last Parliament, a Law was
made for good Order to be observed in the same ;
but yet, as appeareth, not yet executed. Therefore if it be too easy, let it be made sharper, and
if already well, then see it executed. For the
Want of Discipline causeth Obstinacy, Contempt
and growing of Heresy ; therefore better to be
winked at and unspoken, than bruted abroad and
unperformed : Therefore, in mine Opinion, the
Device is good, that in every Diocese there be
Officers appointed and devised, as hath been
thought good, to sit for the Redress of these and
such like Errors, twice or thrice a Year, till the
Faults be amended. In which well doing, the
Head-Officers are to be born withall, and maintained ; and Laws to be made for the Purpose :
The chief Care of which said former Matters
pertaineth to you, my Lords of the Spirituality ;
wherein you must take Pains to travel, whereunto be Laws to be joined ; not only for the more
perfecting of the same, but for the Maintenance,
as well of the Heads as the Ministers thereof.
Now to the second Part, of Policy for the
Commonwealth ; for as there be Faults for
Want of Discipline, so are there Faults in the
Imperfection, and Want of Execution, which
Imperfection must be look'd unto ; and Want of
Laws which needeth to be provided for and made ;
and to consider, if there be not too many Laws
for one Thing, and those so large and busy, that
neither the Commons can understand the same,
nor yet well the Lawyer, which would be brought
into some briefer and better Order, and there executed. For which Purpose, it is necessary to
take care, to have good Ministers thereof ; and
secondly, to banish all Fearfulness for prosecuting the same ; and over and besides, that to appoint proved Men to inquire of these Ministers,
whereby they may have the better Regard to their
Duty ;

Of ENGLAND. 5

‘ Duty : For, even as the Visitation of the Church Queen Elizabeth.
1562.
 ‘ is and was well appointed for the Church, so now
 ‘ is the like to be appointed for the Temporality.
 ‘ For if the Laws be not well executed, my Part
 ‘ is not the least thereof, which yearly I would be
 ‘ glad to hear of. The third for the Enemy, as
 ‘ well here bred amongst us, as abroad : For
 ‘ whereas the Queen’s Majesty at her Entrance
 ‘ found this Realm in War with Foreign Power,
 ‘ at which Time Lack of Treasure, Artillery,
 ‘ Force, and other Things, caused her to agree to
 ‘ a Peace, although not the best, howbeit for our
 ‘ Surety she spared no Cost to bring it to pass ;
 ‘ which notwithstanding, of later Time, certain
 ‘ old cankered Enemies of this Realm, attempted
 ‘ to put in Execution to bring the *Scots* to the Go-
 ‘ vernance of *France*, and so being a firm Land to
 ‘ ours, to have been our utter Enemies ; which
 ‘ Danger the Queen foreseeing, sought by all
 ‘ Means, as well by her Embassadors as others, to
 ‘ stay the Enterprize, but could not ; and therefore
 ‘ helped her Neighbours of *Scotland*, and so disap-
 ‘ pointed that Attempt ; or else afore this Time
 ‘ I doubt the *Scottish* Territories would have been
 ‘ too little to have holden them, but that they
 ‘ would have troubled us, not only at *Berwick*, but
 ‘ at the Walls of *York* ; which Attempt, being by
 ‘ the Means of her Majesty stayed and letted, the said
 ‘ bent Enemies have attempted the same in *France*,
 ‘ to the whole Disturbance of all *Christendom*, and
 ‘ all done for the Mischief of this Realm, joined
 ‘ with a devilish Conspiracy within ourselves, tend-
 ‘ ing to the aiding of the Foreign Enemy ; and by
 ‘ their own Confession, to have raised a Rebellion
 ‘ in this Realm : And for that by none of her
 ‘ Grace’s Travels or Means, she could there stay
 ‘ their Enterprize, or make them agree, she was
 ‘ forced the rather to stay the same, for the Surety
 ‘ of this Realm, to the no little Charge of her Ma-
 ‘ jesty : For in these Proceedings, and in repair-
 ‘ ing of these and other like Faults, I dare be bold

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Queen Elizabeth.
1562.

‘ to say (for that I am thereof assur’d) it hath cost
 ‘ her Majesty as much as two of the best Subsidies,
 ‘ which at any Time hath been within this Realm ;
 ‘ and all at her own proper Charges, without ei-
 ‘ ther straining of her Subjects, or having Aid of
 ‘ them, towards the same. Howbeit she yet think-
 ‘ eth it well spent ; for often it chanceth, that
 ‘ Money is better spent than spared ; as the com-
 ‘ mon Saying is, That a Penny is well spent which
 ‘ afterwards saveth a Pound. And so in this, if
 ‘ that Money had not been so spent, in staying in
 ‘ Time their attempted Enterprises, it would af-
 ‘ terwards have turned to no little Prejudice, nor
 ‘ yet small Charge of this Realm. And where
 ‘ afore this Time Princes commonly have had some
 ‘ Vein or Delight to spend Treasure upon for their
 ‘ Pleasure, which the Queen hath none, but only
 ‘ for the Commonwealth and Surety thereof ; so
 ‘ that we may most justly and fortunately say to
 ‘ her great Praise, that the relieving of the Realm’s
 ‘ Necessities is our Prince’s whole Delight : And
 ‘ notwithstanding all the Disbursements of these
 ‘ her great Charges, yet she was (as I right well
 ‘ know) very hardly brought to, and persuaded to
 ‘ call this Parliament, in which she should be dri-
 ‘ ven to require any Aid, or by any Means to
 ‘ charge her Subjects, if by any other Means it
 ‘ might have been holpen ; and so her Majesty
 ‘ herself commanded to be declared. And I for
 ‘ my Part, and so do others very well know ; for
 ‘ the Commons little think or consider what a
 ‘ Trouble Want is to her, whereby she is forced
 ‘ to ask of them, (which surely is against her Na-
 ‘ ture) but that she is thereunto forced, for the
 ‘ Surety of this Realm.

‘ And for that the Nether House cannot, being
 ‘ so many together, but of Necessity must have
 ‘ one to be a Mouth, Aider or Instructor unto
 ‘ them, for the Opening of Matters, which is
 ‘ called the Speaker ; therefore go and assemble
 ‘ yourselves together and elect one, a discreet,
 ‘ wise, and learned Man, to be your Speaker, and

‘ on *Friday* next the Queen’s Majesty appointeth Queen Elizabeth. 1562.
 ‘ to repair hither again, for to receive the Present-
 ‘ ment of him accordingly.’

On the 15th of *January*, the Commons came again before the Queen, and presented *Thomas Wil-* Thomas Willi-
ams, Esq; Speak-
er.
liams, Esq; one of the Fellows of the Inner Tem-
 ple, their Speaker elect; whose Excuse for Insuf-
 ficiency not being allow’d, he made a most elabo-
 rate Speech on his Induction; which, for the Ra-
 rity of the Stile, and other Incidents, is judged as
 worthy of a Place in this History as the Lord
 Keeper’s.

Most Honourable,

‘ **A**lthough afore this Time the Place hath
 ‘ been furnished with Orators, and therefore The Speaker’s
Speech upon his
Election.
 ‘ their Matter entreated of worthily call’d an Ora-
 ‘ tion; yet I now, void of any such Knowledge,
 ‘ require that Name may be left, and that it might
 ‘ bear the Name of an Epistle with a Request.
 ‘ And for the better Understanding thereof, I will
 ‘ divide the Matter into three Parts; one for Time
 ‘ past; and the second, Time present; and the
 ‘ third, Time to come. But fearing to fall be-
 ‘ tween two Mountains, as to be counted either
 ‘ ungrate, or dissembling, I know not what to
 ‘ say; but yet seeing Savage Beasts forget not
 ‘ them who do well unto them, as appeareth by
 ‘ the Story of a Lyon, out of whose Foot a certain
 ‘ Man took a Thorn, which said Person being af-
 ‘ terwards cast to the same Lyon to be devoured,
 ‘ the Lyon not forgetting, but remembering the
 ‘ former Kindness shewed unto him, would not
 ‘ devour him, but ever after followed the same
 ‘ Man; even so, without too much Ingratitude,
 ‘ can I not let pass your Majesty’s manifold Bene-
 ‘ fits extended upon us; which although worthily
 ‘ to be declared, they pass my Capacity now to ex-
 ‘ press; yet think it Blasphemy to suffer it clean
 ‘ to be untouch’d, and therefore in some part will
 ‘ put in remembrance the same; which I will di-
 ‘ vide into two Parts, the one spiritual the other
 ‘ temporal.

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temporal. For the first, when God planted your Highness in this Place, you found it not so furnished with Treasure as other your Predecessors have, although if you had, yet Occasions enough to employ it ; which notwithstanding, you did not take the Extremity of Penal Statutes, and other Forfeitures, due unto you, but pardoned all such as in Time convenient requir'd it. Also your Majesty did vouchsafe to take upon you the Charge of both the States, as well Spiritual as Temporal, and so purged this Church of all ill Service, and placed therein Service to God's Honour. Further, what great Plague and Dearth happened by ill Money this twenty Years last past, which within one Year is brought to good again, with little Loss of your Subjects? Your Majesty prevented also, as well the Attempt in *Scotland*, made by your common Enemy there, as now of late again in *France* ; which otherwise, if it had not been foreseen, would have turned to the no little Peril, and Loss of this your Realm, and Subjects thereof. Also your Highness hath been Author of good Laws, as appeareth by those made, both of the last Parliament, and by your other Proclamations since. Further, finding this Realm at your Entrance in Wars, you brought it in Peace : All which former Proceedings have been a great Charge unto your Majesty, which although the Revenues of the Crown be small, yet hath it hitherto only been done of your own Charge, as the last Day by the Lord Keeper it was declared. And for the last Part, and principal Point of all other, your Highness hath brought and restored again God's Doctrine into this Realm ; for which your humble Subjects most heartily give Thanks to God, and you, by the Mouth of me their appointed Speaker.

For the second Point, being Time present ; your Majesty is the Head, and the Body the Spirituality and the Temporality, which Body is to be divided into three Estates, the Lords Spiritual, and the Lords Temporal, and the Commons,

mons, whose Mouth I am ; which by no means Queen Elizabeth.
1562.
can prosper, the one without the other ; for as any
Estate divided cannot well continue, so in this ;
and therefore say, *Nosce teipsum*, not minding to
speak these Words only to you, but to the whole
Body ; for although the Head may lack a Mem-
ber of the Body, and yet continue ; yet so the
Member cannot want the Head, nor yet the
Head the whole Body, but the Want of the one
of these last two shall be the Ruin of the other ;
and therefore of Necessity, for the sure Preserva-
tion of the whole, it behoveth them firmly to
join together ; for though your Highness be the
Head, and therefore the chief Care pertaineth
to you, yet your Majesty cannot throughly re-
dress the same, without Knowledge of the Faults,
nor yet well understand the whole State, except
the other Parts of the Body join with you, and
put to their helping Hands. I find in divers Hi-
stories great Commodities grow to Princes, by
searching out, not only the Wants of their Sub-
jects, but Knowledge of their Talk ; whereby
they better both understand their own Faults, and
the Flatterers they have about them ; which Or-
der the wise and prudent *Marcus Aurelius* used,
and long Time reigned honourably. The noble
Conqueror *Alexander*, in the Beginning of his
Reign, used the same ; but leaving that Order,
and having no Regard to his living, was destroy'd ;
which like Example was seen by that notable and
valiant Warrior *Julius Cæsar*. And being en-
couraged by these like Examples, and others, to
enter into some Abuses used in this Realm, I will
only speak of three, being all three notable Mon-
sters, Necessity, Ignorance, and Error. Neces-
sity is grown amongst ourselves, so that no Man
is contented with his Degree, though he hath
never so much ; but where she is (as the Proverb
saith) she hath no Law ; for how now be all
Schools, Benefices, and other like Rooms fur-
nished, and yet those for Schools so few, that I
dare say a hundred Schools want in *England*,
which,

Queen Elizabeth.
1562.

‘ which before this Time have been. And if in
‘ every School there had been but an hundred Scho-
‘ lars, yet that had been ten thousand ; so that
‘ now I doubt whether there be so many learned
‘ Men in *England*, as the Number wants of these
‘ Scholars.

‘ The second Monster is her Daughter Igno-
‘ rance ; for want of ten thousand Scholars, which
‘ these Schools were the bringers up of, and want
‘ of good School-masters, bringeth Ignorance ;
‘ but the Occasion of these two Monsters, is for
‘ want of Livings and Preferments ; for Covet-
‘ ousness hath gotten the Livings, as by Impropria-
‘ tions, which is a Decay of Learning. For by it
‘ the Tree of Knowledge groweth downwards, and
‘ not upwards, as it was first meant and made for ;
‘ and groweth thereby greatly to the Dishonour
‘ both of God and this Commonwealth. The U-
‘ niversities are decayed, and great Market Towns,
‘ and others, without either School or Preacher ;
‘ for the poor Vicar hath but only twenty Pound,
‘ and the rest, being no small Sum, is Impropr-
‘ iate ; and so thereby no Preacher there, but the
‘ People being trained up and led in Blindness, for
‘ want of Instructions, become obstinate. And
‘ therefore to see to it, and that Impropropriations
‘ may be redress’d, notwithstanding the Laws al-
‘ ready made.

‘ The third Monster is Error, a Serpent with
‘ many Heads, many evil Opinions, and much
‘ evil Life, as Pelagians, Libertines, Papists, and
‘ such others, leaving God’s Commandments, to
‘ follow their own Traditions, Affections and
‘ Minds. But if the Papist be, as indeed he is, in
‘ Error, let us seek the Redress thereof ; for that
‘ the Poor and Ignorant be thereby abused. Until
‘ which Redress be had, you nor your Realm, nei-
‘ ther at home nor abroad, shall ever be well served
‘ of such People, which be so divided ; and there-
‘ fore speedily look to it, and weed out this Wick-
‘ edness and Error within these our Days, which
‘ is too much known now adays ; for if your
‘ Godly

' Godly Proclamations were not so soon forgotten, Queen Elizabeth;
1562.
 ' they would be amended. In the Country I heard
 ' tell, but since I came hither, walking in the
 ' Streets, I have heard oftentimes more Oaths than
 ' Words; a pitiful hearing! for if the *Egyptians*,
 ' by whose Laws the People lost their Hands, and
 ' amongst the Barbarians lost their Lives, for
 ' swearing, and especially if it were a Lie: If it
 ' were so punished amongst them, being Infidels,
 ' what shall there be no Punishment amongst us
 ' being Christians? Is Truth further from us pro-
 ' fessing the Name of *Christ*, and being Christians,
 ' than from them being Infidels? But even as
 ' *Tantalus* was plagued, so are we; for although
 ' he had Apples even hanging at his Mouth, yet
 ' could he not eat any of them; and having
 ' a River of Water even as it were running by his
 ' Lips, yet could he not drink, but died for Hun-
 ' ger and Thirst: Even so are we plagued; for
 ' having God's Word, and his Name ever in our
 ' Mouths, yet we live as Infidels, or as them that
 ' are furthest from the same; and so having e-
 ' nough, there is Scarcity. And that we may a-
 ' void this Blasphemy, and the other Monsters,
 ' your humble Subjects desire your Highness to see
 ' to the lamentable Estate of this Commonwealth,
 ' and the Redress of the same.

' Having perused Times past and Times present,
 ' let us go to, and well remember the Time to
 ' come. For *Cato* saith, a Thing well begun
 ' shall be well ended; so then followeth of a good
 ' Beginning a good Ending. For that noble Cap-
 ' tain *Hanibal*, environ'd with his Enemies, in a
 ' strange Country, sounded his Trumpet to Coun-
 ' cil, and thereby prospered. So your Majesty
 ' hath now called the Prelates, Nobles, and Com-
 ' mons, to Council, for Surety of the Realm. We
 ' now so therefore assembled, as diligent in our
 ' Calling, have thought good to move your Ma-
 ' jesty, with the Assent of this Assembly, to build
 ' a strong Fort for the Surety of the Realm, to the
 ' repelling of your Enemies abroad; which must
 ' be

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‘ be set upon firm Ground, and stedfast, having
‘ two Gates, one commonly open, the other as a
‘ Postern, with two Watchmen at either of them,
‘ one Governor, one Lieutenant, four Soldiers,
‘ and no good Thing there wanting. The same
‘ to be named, the Fear of God; the Governor
‘ thereof to be God, your Majesty the Lieute-
‘ nant, the Stones the Hearts of faithful People, the
‘ two Watchmen at the open Gate to be call’d
‘ Knowledge and Virtue, the other two at the
‘ Postern to be call’d Mercy and Truth; all being
‘ Spiritual Ministers.

‘ This Fort is invincible, if every Man will fear
‘ God; for all Governors reign and govern by the
‘ two Watchmen, Knowledge and Virtue; and
‘ if you, being the Lieutenant, see Justice with
‘ Prudence her Sister executed, you shall then
‘ rightly use the Office of a Lieutenant; and for
‘ such as depart out of this Fort, let them be let out
‘ at the Postern by the two Watchmen, Mercy
‘ and Truth; and then you shall be well at home
‘ and abroad. The Charge of this Fort is yours,
‘ being Lieutenant. By Justice your Place is
‘ settled, whereunto Obedience ought to be taught
‘ and done; which your Majesty ought to look to.
‘ And so now the Fear of God to be a sure Fort,
‘ the Subjects Hearts the Stones, Knowledge, Vir-
‘ tue, Mercy and Truth, the four Watchmen,
‘ God the Governor, and your Majesty the Lieu-
‘ tenant, is well proved. Therefore to build up-
‘ on this Fort, the Fear of God, is nothing lack-
‘ ing to a happy Life; for by God are all Princes
‘ appointed. Who put down *Saul*? Who made
‘ *David* King, who sought only God’s Glory and
‘ so prospered? As did *Josaphat*, *Josias*, and *He-*
‘ *zekias*, and also *Ahas*, as long as they sought
‘ God’s Glory, prospered; but forgetting God,
‘ were overthrown: Therefore first of all, and
‘ continually vouchsafe to seek God’s Glory, and
‘ his true Honour, and then you shall have this
‘ Fort well built, and by you well governed.

‘ Further I am to be a Suitor to your Majesty,
‘ that

‘ that when Matters of Importance shall arise, Queen Elizabeth.
1562.
‘ whereupon it shall be necessary to have your
‘ Highness’s Opinion, that then I may have free
‘ Access unto you for the same ; and the like to the
‘ Lords of the Upper House.

‘ Secondly, That in repairing from the Nether
‘ House to your Majesty, or the Lords of the Up-
‘ per House, to declare their Meanings, and I mis-
‘ taking on uttering the same contrary to their
‘ Meaning, that then my Fault or Imbecility in
‘ declaring thereof be not prejudicial to the House,
‘ but that I may again repair to them, the better to
‘ understand their Meanings, and so they to reform
‘ the same.

‘ Thirdly, That the Assembly of the Lower
‘ House may have frank and free Liberties to speak
‘ their Minds, without any Controulment, Blame,
‘ Grudge, Menaces or Displeasure, according to
‘ the old ancient Order.

‘ Finally, That the old Privilege of the House
‘ be observed, which is, that they and theirs might
‘ be at Liberty, frank and free, without Arrest,
‘ Molestation, Trouble, or other Damage to
‘ their Bodies, Lands, Goods or Servants, with
‘ all other their Liberties, during the Time of the
‘ said Parliament ; whereby they may the better
‘ attend, and do their Duty ; all which Privileges
‘ I desire may be enrolled, as at other Times it
‘ hath been accustom’d.

‘ And thus having been tedious unto you with
‘ my Speech, void of Eloquence, I crave your
‘ Pardon, and desire your Majesty to accept of
‘ my Heart and good Will, as well at this Time as
‘ after ; and I will pray as I am bounden, for your
‘ Honour long to reign over us.

We omit the Lord Keeper’s Answer, being no-
thing but what was common on such Occasions.

It was now that the Oath of *Supremacy* was first
taken by all the Members of both Houses ; pursu-
ant to an Act of Parliament made in the first Year
of this Reign,

The

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Queen Elizabeth.
1562.

The *Journals* of the Lords begin with a Bill, for the good ordering and governing of the Queen's Majesty's Garrison of the Town of *Berwick*. This Frontier-Place being judged very necessary to be taken Care of at that Time. Another Bill passed the House, also, for preventing Horses and Geldings to be carried out of the Realm, into *Scotland*, or elsewhere.

A large Supply
granted.

Nothing farther, very material, happened in their Proceedings, till *February* the 20th, when a Bill for granting a Supply was sent up by the Commons. It consisted of a *Subsidy*, two *Fifteenths* and two *Tenths*; which passed the House of Lords on the 23d. This Grant was the same as the former, except that the Tax upon Goods was from three Pounds, when the former was from five. *Cambden* writes, that this large Supply was granted as a Compliment to the Queen, on the happy Turn of Affairs, at that Time (c). 'In Consideration of her
' having reformed the Faith; restored Peace to her
' Kingdoms; rescued *England* and *Scotland* from
' the common Enemy; refined the Coin; rebuilt
' the Navy; provided Ammunition for Sea and
' Land; and in a Word, for the extraordinary
' Care she used in *France*, for the Security of its
' young King, for the Safety of this Kingdom, and
' her Endeavours to regain *Calais*.'

We find, by the *Journal*, that the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York* granted each a *Subsidy*, this Time, which were confirmed by Parliament.

On the 3d Day of *March*, a Bill passed the House of Lords, with some Provisoës added thereto, by them, *For the Assurance of the Queen's Majesty's Royal Power, over all States and Subjects, within her Dominions*. This Act stands the first amongst our printed

(c) *Cambden in Kennet*, p. 591.

Our Author proceeds to acquaint his Readers, 'That a *Fifteentb* and a *Tentb*, is a certain Tax, in every City, Burrough and Town; not upon every Man, in particular, but a general Sum, in Proportion to the Fifteenth of the computed Wealth of the respective Places. A *Subsidy* is what is imposed on every single Person, as they are assessed by Pole, according to the Value of their Goods and Lands. But, he adds, neither one nor other of these Taxes are laid but by Act of Parliament.

printed Statutes of this Year; ‘ By which, it was
 ‘ High Treason for any Man to assert three Times,
 ‘ by Writing, Word or Deed, the Authority of
 ‘ any foreign Prince, Prelate or State, in Spiritual
 ‘ Matters in *England*, or any other of the Queen’s
 ‘ Dominions. Or to refuse the Oath of Supremacy
 ‘ to the Queen, in Matters Spiritual, or over Per-
 ‘ sons Ecclesiastical, after it had been twice tender-
 ‘ ed. Yet so, as that they should not fall under
 ‘ an Attainder, nor forfeit their Goods and Chatels;
 ‘ nor that this Oath should be exacted from any
 ‘ Peer of the Realm, or any Person of eminent
 ‘ Quality, whose Allegiance the Queen did not in
 ‘ the least question; nor, indeed, of any but such
 ‘ who were, had been, or should be, in Holy Or-
 ‘ ders; or did then bear, or should bear, some Ec-
 ‘ clesiastical Office. Or that, after Warning given,
 ‘ should refuse to observe the Rights and Ceremo-
 ‘ nies of the Church of *England*; or should dis-
 ‘ honour the same in Public, either by Word or
 ‘ Deed; or should celebrate or hear Mass, &c.’

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To the Passing of this Bill there was only some
 small Opposition; the Catholic Bishops being now
 removed, but one Lay-Lord, in the whole House,
 had the Courage to speak against it. This was
 Lord Viscount *Montague*, mentioned before (e).
 In the Lower House, one Mr. *Atkinson*, a Student
 of the *Innner-Temple*, expressed the same Zeal for
 the Catholic Cause. Their Speeches are published
 in Mr. *Strype*’s Annals, &c. from the Manuscript
 of the famous Martyrologist, *Foxe*; and must find
 a Place, also, in these Enquiries, with this Observa-
 tion of *Strype*’s upon them, ‘ That the Plea of Con-
 ‘ science and gentle Usage, toward such as differ in
 ‘ Judgment, are Arguments made use of now in the
 ‘ Behalf of *Papists*; which were but of small Avail,
 ‘ in the last Reign, when they were in Power.’
 First Lord *Montague*.

‘ **T**HE Prince or Commonwealth that will
 ‘ make a new Law, ought to consider
 ‘ three

Lord Montague’s
 Speech against
 the Queen’s Su-
 premacy.

(e) Sir *Anthony Browne*, advanced to the Peerage by Queen *Mary*.

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‘ three Things : The *First*, That the same Law
 ‘ be necessary : The *Second*, That it be just and
 ‘ reasonable : The *Third*, That it be possible and
 ‘ commodious, apt and fit to be put in Execution.
 ‘ Unto these three Qualities may be reduced all o-
 ‘ ther that are requisite, to the End the Law should
 ‘ be good. Now, it is to be seen, if these three
 ‘ Qualities be in the Law, that certain do pretend,
 ‘ and would have to be made in this Parliament a-
 ‘ gainst the Papists, as they call them. For the
 ‘ which presuppose, that my Intent is not to per-
 ‘ suade that the Religion which now is observed in
 ‘ *England* is either false or schismatical ; but to en-
 ‘ treat only, if it be good, that a Law be made,
 ‘ whereby it shall be commanded, under Pain of
 ‘ Death, that the Papists, with Oath, confess the
 ‘ Doctrine of the Protestants to be true and evange-
 ‘ lical. As for the first, I say, That this Law that
 ‘ is pretended is not necessary ; forasmuch as the
 ‘ Catholicks of this Realm disturb not, nor hinder
 ‘ the publick Affairs of the Realm, neither Spiritual
 ‘ nor Temporal. They dispute not, they preach
 ‘ not, they disobey not the Queen, they cause no
 ‘ Trouble nor Tumults among the People. So
 ‘ that no Man can say, that thereby the Realm
 ‘ doth receive any Hurt or Damage by them.
 ‘ They have brought into the Realm no Novelties
 ‘ in Doctrine and Religion.

‘ This being true and evident, as it is indeed,
 ‘ there is no Necessity why any new Law should
 ‘ be made against them. And where there is no
 ‘ Sore nor Grief, Medicines are superfluous, and
 ‘ also hurtful and dangerous.

‘ As concerning the second, I say, That this Law
 ‘ that is pretended, is neither just nor reasonable,
 ‘ nor cannot be, nor deserveth to be called, or have
 ‘ the Name of *Law*, when it is made. For it
 ‘ shall be contrary and repugnant unto all Laws of
 ‘ Men, Natural and Civil. I meddle not with
 ‘ God’s Laws ; for I have above said, That in
 ‘ this Discourse I do not pretend to entreat of the
 ‘ Verity

Verity and Truth of Religion. But leaving that till Time fit and convenient, I do entreat, Whether it be just to make this penal Statute to force the Subjects of this Realm to receive and believe the Religion of the Protestants, upon Pain of Death. This, I say, is a Thing most unjust. For that it is repugnant to the Law of Nature and all Civil Laws. The Reason is, for that naturally no Man can, or ought to be constrained, to take for certain that that he holdeth to be uncertain. For this repugneth to the natural Liberty of Man's Understanding. For Understanding may be persuaded, but not forced.

The Doctrine of the Protestants doth repugn unto all the Ecclesiastical State of *England* that were present at the last Parliament, and holdeth Contradiction with all Provinces of *Christendom*. It repugneth to all the Doctrine of all the Parliaments past, and all general Councils. With these Contradictions there is no Protestant, if he be a Man of any Understanding or Judgment, but will confess that it is doubtful and uncertain; seeing that of those Things that appear not to our Senses, there ariseth no Doubt nor Uncertainty, but of the Opinions of Men. And if he will say 'tis the Catholick Doctrine; therefore the Question is, How this Word can be understood? which is the Work of Understanding, and is reduced and brought to Opinions. And when there be many Opinions of the one Side and the other, it is Reason, that the Thing be doubtful, 'till all Opinions come to one: And that there be one Faith, one God, and one Trinity.

Now, to turn to my Purpose, I say, That since the Doctrine of Protestants is so uncertain, (leaving to call it false) there is no Reason nor Justice, that doth permit or suffer, that Men should be forced to take it for certain, true and sure, and affirm the same. It is sufficient, and enough for Protestants to keep Possession of the Churches, and the Authority to preach and ex-

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Queen Elizabeth. 1562. communicate, not to seek to force and strain Men
 to do or believe by Compulsion what they believe not; and not to swear, and to make God
 Witness of their Lie. ———

Mr. *Strype* observes, hereupon, by the Way, how much this Bill is (whether wilfully or ignorantly) represented by this Peer. For the Oath therein required to be taken, is not to swear to the Truth of the Protestant Religion, and the Doctrine thereof, (nor is there the least Mention made of Religion in the whole Act) but only that no foreign Bishop (chiefly meaning the Bishop of *Rome*) hath any Power or Authority in the Queen's Realms and Dominions. Nor was this Oath to be imposed upon all the Queen's Subjects universally; but only such as should enter into Holy Orders, or took any eminent Places and Offices upon them; which if they declined to do, and meddled not in the Government, no such Oath was required of them. And there is an express Proviso, that none shall be compelled to take it, but some Ecclesiastical Persons, that gave just Grounds of Jealousy to the State. And besides, this Act was found necessary for the Security of the Queen and her Government, (which was at this Time in no small Danger) as the Tittle of the Act ran, *For the Assurance of the Queen's Power over all her States and Subjects*: And the Preamble of the Act mentioned *the Dangers by reason of the Fauters of the usurped Power of the See of Rome, at this Time grown to marvellous Outrage and licentious Boldness*. ——— After this Caution, he goes on with this Lord's Speech.

‘ It is enough for them, [the Protestants] and
 ‘ they might hold themselves content, that there is
 ‘ no Impediment or Let made by the Catholicks,
 ‘ but that they may persuade the People so much as
 ‘ they list, and teach and preach their Doctrine.
 ‘ As touching the Third, that is, Whether this
 ‘ Statute should be possible, meet and convenient,
 ‘ to be put in Execution: I say, That on what is
 ‘ said

‘ said in the second Chapter of *Justice*, dependeth Queen Elizabeth.
1562.
‘ and is contained the Understanding of this Third,
‘ touching the Commodity and Possibility. For it
‘ is an easy Thing to understand, that a Thing so
‘ unjustly, and so contrary to all Reason and Li-
‘ berty of Man, cannot be put in Execution, but
‘ with great Incommodity and Difficulty. For
‘ what Man is there so without Courage and Sto-
‘ mach, or void of all Honour, that can consent or
‘ agree to receive an Opinion and new Religion by
‘ Force and Compulsion ; or will swear, that he
‘ thinketh the contrary to that he thinketh. To
‘ be still and dissemble may be born and suffered for
‘ a Time ; to keep his Reckoning with God alone ;
‘ but to be compelled to lie and to swear, or else to
‘ die therefore, are Things that no Man ought to
‘ suffer and endure. And it is to be feared, rather
‘ than to die, they will seek how to defend them-
‘ selves : Whereby should ensue the contrary of what
‘ every good Prince and well-advised Common-
‘ wealth ought to seek and pretend, that is, to keep
‘ their Kingdom and Government in Peace.

‘ So that this Law and Statute that is pretended,
‘ since it is not necessary for Men, without they
‘ leave Quietness and Peace ; nor just and reason-
‘ able, seeing it forceth Men to hold for certain and
‘ true, that they should hold for doubtful and false ;
‘ and being incommodious and impossible to be put
‘ in Execution, for the Alterations that may ensue
‘ of great Unjustice ; I conclude, that by no Means
‘ any such Law ought to be made and enacted.

‘ And because some said, This need not be fear-
‘ ed, nor ought any thing to be a Stop ; because the
‘ greater Part of the Assembly of the Lords and
‘ the Higher House, was of the Mind and Opinion,
‘ that the Law ought to be made, including in the
‘ same Assembly the *Bishops* that are twenty-five :
‘ I answer, That they neither can, nor ought to
‘ have to do in this Matter, because they are as
‘ Party, and therefore cannot be Judges. And
‘ that they have Party, and have Interest in this
‘ Matter, it cannot be denied ; since, *ipso facto*, they

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‘ have dispossessed the Catholick Bishops of their
‘ Churches, under this Occasion and Colour, to
‘ bring into the Realm better Doctrine. Besides all
‘ this, neither the Law nor the Gospel, nor other
‘ Civil Law doth suffer Ecclesiastical Persons, to
‘ have more than the Judgment and Examination
‘ of the Doctrine and Excommunications. And,
‘ according to this, it belongeth not to the Bishops,
‘ but only to declare and pronounce the Doctrine,
‘ of the Papists, to be false, as they have done ; and
‘ to excommunicate such as follow the same. To
‘ appoint afterward the Temporal Penalties of
‘ Confiscation, Banishment or Death ; this apper-
‘ taineth not to them, but to the Secular Judge ;
‘ who, according to the Necessity of the Common-
‘ wealth, for Peace and Quietness of the same,
‘ may execute and proceed against some excommu-
‘ nicate Persons with more or less Rigour after, as
‘ he shall think good.

‘ It shall be also very just, reasonable and conve-
‘ nient for the Service of the Queen, that the Lords
‘ of the Realm alone, without the Bishops, do con-
‘ sider, if it be meet and convenient for the Wealth
‘ of the Realm, to make this Statute and Law so
‘ rigorous ; or whether that that is made already
‘ be sufficient ; or whether it be meet and conve-
‘ nient (to take away all Inconveniences and Da-
‘ mages that may arise of those Diversities and No-
‘ velties in Religion) to command the Bishops all,
‘ as well Papistical as Protestants, to find the Means
‘ to try the Matter (afore disputed here) within the
‘ Realm, or in the general Council. The which
‘ seemeth should be much more easy, more sure,
‘ and more convenient.

‘ And, furthermore, since it belongeth to the
‘ said Lords, not to endanger their Lives and Goods,
‘ if any War should happen within the Realm, or
‘ with their Neighbours ; let them therefore take
‘ good Heed, and not suffer themselves to be led
‘ by such Men that are full of Affection and Pas-
‘ sions, and that look to wax mighty, and of Power,
‘ by

‘ by the Confiscation, Spoil and Ruin of the ^{Queen Elizabeth;}
‘ Houses of noble and ancient Men.’ 1562.

To this Speech made in the House of Lords, We shall subjoin another Oration in the House of Commons, against the said Bill of the Oath of *Supremacy*, by Mr. *Atkinson*, aforesaid, spoken the 10th Day of *March*; but it is not mentioned in the *Journals*.

Right Honourable,

‘ **Y**OU have heard the Effect of this Bill, con-
‘ taining in itself, that all those that shall by
‘ any open Act, maintain any foreign Jurisdiction,
‘ or shall refuse the Oath, which is likewise for the
‘ abolishing of all foreign Power; that such Of-
‘ fenders shall; for the first Offence, incur the Dan-
‘ ger of *Premunire*; and if they esteemes refuse again,
‘ then to be judged as in Case of High Treason.
‘ Whether any foreign Power be lawful to be re-
‘ ceived within this Realm, or whether in Consci-
‘ ence a Man ought to take this Oath, that Matter
‘ I purpose not now to dispute; for that is already
‘ put out of Question by Consent of the whole
‘ Realm, in High Court of Parliament, in the first
‘ Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady that
‘ now is; against which it shall not become me to
‘ reason. But, *Marrie*, whether an Offence com-
‘ mitted against that Statute be so sharply to be pu-
‘ nished as this Bill here requireth, that is the Que-
‘ stion that we now have in Hand. Wherein I
‘ think that the Punishment already devised is suffi-
‘ cient; that the Punishment limited in this Bill is
‘ too rigorous; and that though this Act went for-
‘ ward, yet no Benefit could thereof grow to the
‘ Commonwealth.

Mr Atkinson's
Speech against
the Oath of Su-
premacy.

‘ If the Offence were Treason, as it was said
‘ this other Day, in the House, that it was; and
‘ that the Offenders therein were Traytors even by
‘ the common Laws of the Realm, as Men that
‘ sought to take the Crown from the King, and
‘ give it the Pope, then would I think no Punish-
‘ ment too little for it: And Pity it were, that e-

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ven for the first Offence it was not made Death. Howbeit, if it may be proved unto you, that the Maintenance of Foreign Jurisdiction was not by the Laws ever accounted Treason; then I trust there will no good Man think, but that the Offence being not so great, the Punishment ought not to be so great neither. I would agree, That the ancient Writers of the Law, as both *Bracton* and *Briton* have, in their Writings, called the King *God's Vicar in Earth*: And so I assent to that that *Skipwith* saith, That there is the Deanry of *Pickering* in *Ireland* belonging to the Archbishop of *Deviling*, [i. e. *Dublin*] and that it is of this Condition, That if an *Englishman* be made Archbishop, that then he shall have the Deanry as his free Chapel; and if an *Irishman*, then the King. His Reason is, *Quia Reges sacro Oleo uncti Spiritualis Jurisdictionis sunt capaces*, i. e. Because the Sacred Majesty of a King anointed with Holy Oil, hath Capacity of Spiritual Jurisdiction. I likewise agree to the Saying of *Brian*, where he saith, That a great Doctor of Law once told him, That a Priest, by Prescription, might be impleaded in the King's Temporal Court, *Quia Rex est Persona mixta ex Sacerdotibus & Laicis*: i. e. Because the Person of a King is mixt of Priesthood and Laity.

Of all which we may gather, That by the Common Laws the King may have the Temporal Profits of a Spiritual Promotion, and also implead a Spiritual Person in his Temporal Court. All which, notwithstanding, I am sure no Authority can be shewed to prove, that the affirming, that the Pope ought to have Jurisdiction in these or other like Matters, or that the Jurisdiction of them ought not to appertain to the King, was never yet accompted Treason.

And therefore suppose that the King had brought a *Quare impedit* against a Spiritual Person, (which is a Plea merely Temporal, determinable in the Temporal Court) and that the Spiritual Person had thought to appeal to *Rome* in Stay of the Judgment;

Judgment; had this been Treason? Nay, surely, though without some open Act shewing the same, it was never yet taken to be Treason; nor was it ever yet seen, that a Man in such a Case was bound to discover his Conscience upon his Oath. But to go further, suppose he had expressly said before Witnesses, that he would appeal to Rome; nay, suppose he had appealed to Rome indeed; had this been Treason? Nay, it was never yet but *Premunire*; and not *Premunire* neither, till the Statute of the 27th of Edward the Third made it so. But was this an Offence against the King's Crown and Dignity? But so are many Offences that are not Treason; and are not, as he said, *Crimina læsæ Majestatis*, but *Crimina minutæ Majestatis*.

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If then to affirm, that the Pope ought to have Jurisdiction in a Temporal Matter, were not Treason; much less were it Treason to affirm the same in Spiritual Matters: As to say, that the Consecration of Archbishops belonged to him, or that the Order of Service and Sacraments ought to be directed by the See Apostolick. What the Judges have said in our Law in the Behalf of the Pope, that spare I here for Duty's Sake to speak of. I am sure it was more than I have hitherto said: And yet were they, I believe, as skillful in knowing what Treason was, and as loth to offend therein, as was the Gentleman that went about with so many Reasons to prove it Treason; nor I doubt not, but even at those Times when Princes suffered this Offence to remain unpunished, and when the Subjects offended in it, that yet they had as great a Care to maintain the Royal Dignity of the Crown; and were otherwise as void of traitorous Hearts, as those that think themselves best Subjects.

And therefore we read, that in the Time of Edward the First, the Pope willed the King to take Peace with Scotland, and he made him Answer, *That touching his Temporalities, he knew no Peer in his Realm.* And the like Letters was sent

in

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‘ in the Time of *Henry* the Sixth ; and *Humsfrey*,
‘ then Duke of *Gloucester*, hurled them in the Fire.
‘ And, whosoever readeth the Statute of *Premunire*
‘ made in the 16th Year of *Richard* the Second,
‘ shall find that all the Lords, both Spiritual and
‘ Temporal, said, *That they would stick with the*
‘ *King in the Maintenance of his Crown and Digni-*
‘ *ty.* And they were therefore severally examined,
‘ to the Intent that their Opinion might be known.
‘ If then it hath been proved, that that Offence hath
‘ not been Treason, nor that the Offenders therein
‘ have not otherwise born traiterous Hearts ; I trust,
‘ that the Offence being not so great, you will not
‘ without Cause go about to encrease the Punish-
‘ ment.

‘ Let us therefore never go about to aggrieve the
‘ Matter, or make it worse than it is ; but let us
‘ consider it in such Sort, as it is indeed ; that is, an
‘ Offence in Religion, and an Offence against the
‘ Statute made in the first Year of the Queen’s Ma-
‘ jesty. And then, whether such an Offence be to
‘ be punished by Death, either for the Preservation
‘ of the Common Peace, or else by the express
‘ Laws of God, that Matter falleth further in Con-
‘ sultation.

‘ As for the Scripture, I must confess myself ig-
‘ norant in them, as the Thing that is not my Pro-
‘ fession, nor in which I have been exercised : Yet
‘ thus much have I heard the Preachers say, that
‘ are now, That though, in the old Law, Idolatry
‘ was punished with Death ; yet since the Coming
‘ of Christ (who came to win the World by Peace,
‘ and bade *Put up the Sword*,) the greatest Punish-
‘ ment that hath been taught by the Apostles in case
‘ of Religion, hath been by Excommunication.
‘ For Religion, they say, must sink in by Persuasi-
‘ on ; it cannot be pressed in by Violence. And
‘ therefore they called the Act of the Six Articles,
‘ that was made the 31st of King *Henry* the Eighth,
‘ *The Whip with the Six Lashes.* And as for the
‘ Dealings in Queen *Mary*’s Days, they much mis-
‘ liked them ; calling the Bishops *Blood-suckers*, and
‘ bade

‘ bade *Fie on these Tormenters, that delighted in no-
‘ thing else but in the Death of Innocents ; that threa-
‘ tened the whole Realm with their Fire and Faggots ;
‘ Murtherers ; that they were were worse than Cai-
‘ aphas, worse than Judas, worse than the Traytors
‘ that put Christ to Death.* And that with such
‘ Vehemency and Stomach, as I assure you I mar-
‘ vel, how it can possibly come to pass, that they
‘ should now desire to establish that as a Law, which
‘ they thought then so far unlawful.

‘ And indeed may a Solemn Clerk and Holy
‘ Father hath there been in the Church, that have
‘ much misliked that cruel Handling ; and have
‘ wished rather the Opinions of the Men to be taken
‘ away than the Men themselves ; and would have
‘ them convinced *Magis Verbo quam Vi, i. e.* Ra-
‘ ther by the Word than by the Sword. Howbeit,
‘ what was the Cause, why in all Christian Realms
‘ Offenders in Religion were punished by Death :
‘ And further, how far the Punishment that is here
‘ devised, exceedeth that in Rigour and Cruelty :
‘ And lastly, how Offenders in this Case of Religi-
‘ on ought not to be punished by the one, nor by
‘ the other ; that Matter shall I make so plain and
‘ so evident unto you, that I trust no charitable
‘ Man will consent to the passing of this Bill.

‘ *First*, As for *Excommunication*, that was thought
‘ so easy a Punishment, that it was the Thing that
‘ they gladly would have wished for. For what
‘ could please them better that had already forsaken
‘ the true Faith, than to be punished from the Com-
‘ pany of all those that believe otherwise than them-
‘ selves ? Therefore was Fining and Ransoming
‘ devised against the *Manichees*. But that would
‘ not serve ; for either had they nothing to lose, or
‘ else were willing to lose that they had. Then
‘ was it further devised and enacted, That they
‘ should be imprisoned. But Imprisonment would
‘ not help neither. For the Number of them was
‘ such as the Prisons could not hold them ; and the
‘ Keepers many Times were corrupted. Then was
‘ Banishment devised ; but that was worst of all o-
‘ ther.

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‘ ther. For then would they, by their Letters,
‘ openly defame those, by whom, for their Naugh-
‘ tiness they had received any Damage. And fur-
‘ ther, not keeping their Conscience to themselves,
‘ ceased not by preaching in Woods and Cellars, by
‘ dealing in Hugger-Mugger seditious Books of
‘ their own making, keeping of Midnight-Lectures,
‘ making of Enterludes and Ballads, to allure other
‘ silly Souls to their Naughtiness; so far forth that
‘ if better Remedy had not been provided, this Can-
‘ ker would have crept over the whole Body of
‘ *Christendom*. Nor were they so contented nei-
‘ ther, but fell to open Violence, as robbing and
‘ spoiling of Churches, and taking other Mens
‘ Goods from them. Insomuch that the Stories of
‘ the Church make mention, That when the *Ma-*
‘ *cedonians* and the *Catholicks* should come before the
‘ Deputy of *Philippus*, for hearing of their Contro-
‘ verly; and that the Throng was great, the *Mace-*
‘ *donians* fell in Hand with them, and said, That
‘ by the Number of them it should seem rather
‘ that they came to fight with them than to dis-
‘ pute; and therewith drew their Weapons upon
‘ them, and slew them to the Number of three
‘ thousand. For which Violence of theirs, it was
‘ ordained, by Consent through *Christendom*, That
‘ Violence should be offered them again. And
‘ their Offence for common Quietness Sake, and for
‘ the Peace of the Church, punished in this Sort:
‘ That is to say, That if it were by open Witness
‘ proved, that any had offended, that yet he might
‘ abjure for the first Offence, if he would; and
‘ upon Penance and Repentance made, be received
‘ into the Church again. But if he esteemes fell in
‘ Relapse, then he should be left to the Secular
‘ Hands.

‘ Which Punishment, as it was, was yet much
‘ more easy, than that which is here devised. For
‘ there you see, unless he had been convinced by
‘ Witness for some open Fact done, he was with-
‘ out Danger of the Law. But here, though he
‘ intended to live under a Law, and keep his Con-

‘ science

science to himself, yet will we grope him, and see what secretly lieth in his Breast: And to the Intent he shall not dally with us, we offer him an Oath, which many a Man shall take that understandeth not what it meaneth. There you see the first Offence was not punished; but he had Leisure to bethink him and mend. But here the very first Offence is punished; and by what Punishment? Forsooth, by Judgment of *Premunire*, which is Loss of Lands and Goods, his Body in Prison at the Queen's Will and Pleasure; and yet he is in no great Surety of his Life neither. For if any Man, upon Displeasure, should kill him, his Friends might well lament his Death, but they could not punish it. For a Man attainted in *Premunire*, is *perdie* out of the Protection of the King, and of the Laws. Yea, and besides all this, not a Man dare give him his Alms, lest he should be an Aider and Maintainer within the Compass of this Statute (a.)

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Therefore, methinks, the Law was a great deal better, and surely much more profitable for the Commonwealth, that was made in the first Year of the Queen's Majesty. For there we see the first Offence is not so grievously punished. And if every Ecclesiastical Person, every Judge and other Officer, every one that is of the Queen's Fee, every Man that shall sue Livery, all Scholars that are in the University, be sworn, (as they must be by the same Statute) what Mischief can there be wrought, but it shall be espied and quenched? Is it not, think you, an easier Way to win Men (for win them we must, if we shall do well) to leave a Gap for him open to Promotion, if he embrace these Proceedings, than, if he refuse them, to take that he hath from him? Is it not a sufficient Punishment for him, that no Man shall, by his Wit and Learning, so long as he continueth that Opinion, bear any Office, or have any

(a) There is a Proviso in this Statute against this Consequence of *Premunire*, and so there is another against the former.

Strype.

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‘ any Countenance in this Commonwealth?
‘ What Better Proof can you have of the Good-
‘ ness of the Law, that you see, since that Time,
‘ no great Breach of the Law; no seditious Con-
‘ gregations, no Tumult, but the Common Peace
‘ well kept, and every Man liveth under a Law
‘ without Disturbance of the Queen’s Proceedings?
‘ So that that Punishment being sufficient, it is in
‘ vain to desire a greater to keep them under.

‘ Let us follow the Example of the Queen’s Ma-
‘ jesty; whose Gracious Highness hath with such
‘ Clemency ruled us, and so tempered her Justice
‘ with Mercy, as I ween never Prince since the
‘ Conquest (I speak it without Flattery) hath for
‘ the Time reigned over us in a quieter Peace, with
‘ more Love and less Exaction. The Honour be
‘ to her gracious Majesty, and those good Counsel-
‘ lors that have had that Statute in Hand.

‘ But, to go on; suppose it were passed for a
‘ Law, what great Good could we reckon should
‘ grow to the Commonwealth by it? You will
‘ say, a Sort of stubborn Papists should be rid out of
‘ the Way; who, if they lived, would be Causers
‘ of Sedition; and Sedition must needs be the
‘ Cause of Desolation. Surely, if the whole Num-
‘ ber, that think against the Oath in their Con-
‘ science, should refuse the Oath, and for the Of-
‘ fence be executed; the Realm could not chuse but
‘ be much weakened, and a great deal the less able
‘ to defend itself. We may partly see it by the U-
‘ niversities, that what with the one Side and the
‘ other, hath been so shaken for Religion, that
‘ Learning is almost quite decayed in them. And if
‘ Provision be not made, all like to come to a bar-
‘ barous Ignorance.

‘ But suppose you that the greatest Part will re-
‘ fuse the Oath? Think you that all that take it,
‘ will upon the taking of it change their Consci-
‘ ences? Nay, many a false Shrew there is, that
‘ will lay his Hand to the Book, when his Heart
‘ shall be far off. Of this hath this House full Ex-
‘ perience. For in the Bill of conveying over of
‘ Horses,

‘ Horses, there was a Clause, that whosoever would Queen Elizabeth,
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 ‘ swear that it was for his necessary Travel; it was
 ‘ lawful. And because Men sticked not at such a
 ‘ Trifle to forswear themselves, that Clause was re-
 ‘ pealed. And upon like Consideration, by the
 ‘ grave Advice of this House, was the Oath left out
 ‘ of the Subsidy-Book. If Men for such Trifles
 ‘ will forswear themselves, it cannot chuse but be
 ‘ perillous, when their Goods, Lands, Liberties and
 ‘ Lives, shall depend upon it. And namely upon
 ‘ a Matter, whereof for the most Part they have no
 ‘ Knowledge; but all one to them, whether it be
 ‘ so, or otherwise. And so protesting that to be
 ‘ in their Consciences, whereof they stand in Doubt,
 ‘ they shall wilfully forswear themselves.

‘ And if Men were seditious before, now will
 ‘ they become ten Times more seditious. Neither
 ‘ shall the Queen’s Majesty be ever a whit the *Surer*,
 ‘ which is the Title, and as it should seem the only
 ‘ Meaning of this Bill. For if any were rebellious
 ‘ before, now will his Heart become more rebelli-
 ‘ ous; for that he is enforced to Perjury: And
 ‘ that Mischief will secretly keep in his Mind, and
 ‘ shew it then, when he thinketh it will do most
 ‘ Harm. Or else, if he be not thus wickedly dis-
 ‘ posed, then will he linger on in Despair, and with
 ‘ Violence at the last seek to destroy himself, which
 ‘ were too lamentable to hear of: And we the
 ‘ Cause of all this Mischief.

‘ Let us therefore, for the Honour of God, leave
 ‘ all Malice, and notwithstanding Religion, let us
 ‘ love together. For it is no Point of Religion,
 ‘ one to hate another. Let us make an End of
 ‘ Division, for fear lest our Enemies, who are
 ‘ mighty, and now in the Field, might, peradven-
 ‘ ture, finding us at Dissention among ourselves,
 ‘ the easilier vanquish us. Whereas, if we can a-
 ‘ gree and love together, there shall be no Doubt,
 ‘ but we shall put them now to the worst, whom
 ‘ we have often vanquished before. Let us do as
 ‘ the good Mother did before *Solomon*, who when
 ‘ she had Contention before the wise King for her
 ‘ own

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own Child with the common Harlot, and that the Matter went so hard, that he could not tell to whom to give it, but thought to divide it; the tender Love of the Mother, considering that the Child's Division should be the Child's Destruction, could not suffer that, but was content to yield up, and give away her Interest. So let us, for the Love of God, forget and forgive all Grievs for the Commonwealth's Sake, and let us love one another: For so shall no Division work the Desolation of our Kingdom.

And when we have done all, to this we must come at last. We see in *Germany*, where after so long Contention, and so great Destruction and Waste of their Country, at last they are come to this Point; that the Papist and Protestant can now quietly talk together, and never fall out about the Matter. I beseech you, therefore, Right Honourable, that you will well remember the Trust that your Country putteth in you; and since you have the Sword in your Hand to strike, be well ware whom you strike. For some shall you strike that are your near Friends, some your Kinsmen, but all your Countrymen, and even Christians. And tho' you may like these Doings, yet may it be that your Heirs after you may mislike them; and then farewell your Name and Worship. Remember that Men that offend this Way, offend not as Murtherers and Thieves do; that is, of Malice and wicked Intent, but through Conscience and Zeal, at leastways through Opinion of Religion. And if it shall happen them to die in the wrong Opinion, then shall we not only destroy the Bodies, of which there is no small Force, but their Souls; which is a Loss that can never be recovered. And if they should do it against their Consciences, to save their Lives, and seem, peradventure, in Doubt of the Matter; then should they fall unto Perjury, and we become Causers of it. And sith they keep their Consciences to themselves, and live under a Law, why are they to be punished by so sharp a Law? And
: though

‘ though some peradventure have offended you, yet
 ‘ do not for their Sakes punish the rest, who never
 ‘ offended you ; but rather for the others Sakes, who
 ‘ are the greater Number, forgive all.

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‘ Follow the Example of the good Mother in *Solomon*, or rather the Example of the Queen’s Majesty, whom I pray God may long reign over us, and her Issue after her.’

In Answer to these, and such like Speeches against the Bill, Mr. *Strype* gives us an Argument of some other Member unknown, well skilled in the Laws, in favour of it, and against the former Reasons and Considerations. A Copy of it came into the Hands of Archbishop *Parker*, who sent it to *Cox*, Bishop of *Ely*. And from that very Copy Mr. *Strype* transcrib’d the Tenor of it : *Viz.*

‘ **I**N the Time of King *Edward III.* One should
 ‘ have been hanged, drawn and quartered, for
 ‘ publishing an Excommunication, directed from
 ‘ the Bishop of *Rome* against one of the King’s
 ‘ Subjects. But at the Entreaty of the Lord Chancellor and Lord Treasurer, his Life was pardoned :
 ‘ Notwithstanding, he was abjured the Realm. If
 ‘ ratifying Part of the Pope’s Authority was so punished, the Consenting to the whole must of Necessity be High Treason.

An Argument
 for the Bill.

‘ In the Statute of 25. *Ed. 3. de Proditionibus. Cap. 2do.* If a Man be adherent to the Enemies of the King in his Realm, finding them Aid and Comfort in the Realm, or any other Place, it was High Treason : But to be sworn to the Pope, being the Queen’s Enemy, and [the Party] so remain, and will not refuse the Oath to him, nor swear to the Queen, is to comfort the Queen’s Enemies. Therefore High Treason.

‘ In the 12 *Hen. 7. Fineux*, Chief Justice, thus : As in Spiritual Matters towards God, so it is in Temporal Matters towards the Prince. And therefore at the Sheriff’s Turn every Subject ought to be present to learn his Duty. But in Spiritual Mat-

ters,

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ters, not to affirm, maintain, and uphold God,
and all Things touching the Substance of Religion, with Heart, Mind and Power, is horrible
Heresy : So, not to maintain the Prince, his
Stile, the Royal Dignity of the Crown with Heart,
Mind and Power, is High Treason. But he that
refuseth to swear to the Prince doth so, &c.
Therefore he is a Traitor.

1 Hen. 7. *Hussey* (Chief Justice in the Time
of *Edw. 4.*) said, a Legate was at *Calais*, from the
Pope, for to have the King's safe Conduct to
come into the Realm. And then in open Council
before the Lords and Justices, it was demanded,
What should be done? Who answered, That
they would send unto the Legate; and if he
would swear, That he had brought nothing with
him in Derogation to the King, and of his Crown,
that he should have Licence, or otherwise, not.
And the Bishop of *Ely* caused the Pope's Legate
to swear, That he had nothing that should be
prejudicial to the King and his Crown: And then
he entered. If a Stranger was compelled for to
swear for the Safeguard of the Prince before his
Entry into the Realm; much more a natural-born
Subject should not live in the Realm, except he
would be sworn for the Safeguard of the Prince,
and Dignity of the Crown.

Prædict. Anno, *Hussey prædict.* said, That in
the Time of *Edward I.* the Pope sent Letters to
the King, that he should make Peace with *Scotland*,
and that he should put the Matter to his
Order. The King, by the Advice of his Council,
sent Word, That he would not commit the
Matter to be ordered by the Pope. And all the
Lords writ unto the Pope, That although the
King would give away his Right that he had in
Scotland, that he should not do it; because it was
his Right to have the Supreme Government of
Scotland. And further, the Bishop of *London* said,
at the same Time, That he saw, in the Time of
King *Henry VI.* when the Pope sent Letters
which were in Derogation of the King, and the
Spiritual

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‘ Spiritual Men durst not say any Thing against
‘ them, that *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester* took
‘ the Letters, and cast them into the Fire, and burnt
‘ them. If the Nobility, our Ancestors, have so
‘ stoutly maintained the Right of the Prince against
‘ the Pope, shall we seem now to maintain the
‘ Pope and his Authority, in refusing to punish
‘ those with so just a Law, that do, for Maintenance of the Pope, refuse to swear their Oath of
‘ Allegiance to their Sovereign Lady and Queen ?

‘ 13 *Hen. 8.* Treason may be in Intendment
‘ only, Felony must be in Act always. But who-
‘ so refuseth to swear to the Prince, discloseth the
‘ Intendment of his Heart to be traiterous. There-
‘ fore, &c. After these Allegations out of History,
‘ then it was further shewn as followeth :

‘ *First*, By Act of Parliament made in the first
‘ Year of the Queen, the Supreme Government
‘ over her Spirituality and Temporality, was given
‘ to her ; and the extolling of the Bishop of *Rome*
‘ made *Premunire* for the second Offence ; and
‘ Treason the third Time : And the offering of
‘ the Oath appointed, and the Refusal thereof by a-
‘ ny, made the Loss of his Office [the first Time.]
‘ The new Bill maketh for the first Offence, of ex-
‘ tolling of the Bishop of *Rome’s* Authority, or Re-
‘ fusal of the Oath, *Premunire* ; and the second
‘ Time Treason. For the extolling or setting forth
‘ that Bishop’s Authority, all do condescend the
‘ Penalty is not unreasonable ; but only to force
‘ the Oath, which they say toucheth the Consci-
‘ ence, which should not be searched, [that some are
‘ against.]

‘ As to that, first it must be considered, seeing it
‘ is enacted that both be Offences, what Pains the
‘ Offenders deserve. The Contents of the Oath is
‘ an Acknowledging of the Superiority in the Prince,
‘ and Promise of Allegiance ; which is the Duty of
‘ every Subject, as a Subject in Temporal Causes,
‘ and toucheth no Spiritual Thing, but bindeth the
‘ Subject by Promise to recognize the Sovereignty
‘ in his Prince. Which if a Man may be by his

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‘ Prince commanded to confesse, if he refuse, is
‘ Treason ; because, in that he doth refuse it, he
‘ doth affirm the contrary of the Oath to be true.
‘ As for Example, if the Lord doth require his Te-
‘ nant to do Homage to him, wherein he doth but
‘ confesse him to be his Lord, and himself to be his
‘ Tenant ; if he refuse to do it, what else doth he,
‘ but disavow him to be his Lord ? To say a Man
‘ may have a Conscience in .it ; to that, [I ask]
‘ Shall a Man have a Conscience in Cafes of Trea-
‘ son ?

‘ The Prince at her Coronation swears to de-
‘ fend us ; Shall not we swear to defend her ? The
‘ Refusal of the Oath was Treason in the Time of
‘ King *Henry*, established by Parliament. If then
‘ newly, upon new Proof of the Enormity of the
‘ *Romish* Practices, the Refusal was Treason at the
‘ first Offence, when by common Reason the Sud-
‘ denness of the Alteration might have endangered
‘ the State, if his [the Bishop of *Rome*’s] Authority
‘ had been thought godly and lawful ; *a multo forti-*
‘ *ori*, now is it expedient to make the Offence
‘ Treason at the second Time ; especially being so
‘ long tried by Learning and Reason, to be an
‘ usurped Authority ; and also by Length of Time
‘ worn far more out of Memory.

‘ We have promised, in the Speaker’s last Mo-
‘ tion for Establishment, to make Laws for her [the
‘ Queen’s] Defence. What better Law may there
‘ be made ? If we endeavour not to make it, we
‘ break our Promise ; and she said, She looked for
‘ Promise therein to be kept by us.

‘ If any Man be required, in the Queen’s Name,
‘ to acknowledge her Queen of *England* over all
‘ her People ; if he refuse to do it, he is a Traitor.
‘ There is no other Thing in Effect comprized in
‘ the Oath. Therefore the Refuser of the Oath is a
‘ Traitor. And in that the first Offence is made *Pre-*
‘ *munire*, and the second Treason, it is too mild for
‘ the Offence ; especially, the Wife’s Dower, and
‘ the Heir’s Inheritance without Corruption of
‘ Blood, being saved.

... ‘ To

‘ To say, It was never made Treason, *Ergo*, not to be Treason now, the Argument is not true. For if the Princes would have so taken it, it were Treason by the common Laws of this Realm ; but that King *Henry* was abused by Error. But if it were never Treason before, seeing the Circumstances of Time past, present, and that may follow, it is expedient to make, upon the new Occasion, new Laws, as is daily in other Cases. Queen Elizabeth.
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‘ If they say, It toucheth Conscience ; and it is a Thing wherein a Man ought to have a Scruple : But if any hath a Conscience in it, these four Years Space might have settled it. Also, after his first Refusal, he hath three Months Respit for Conference, and settling of his Conscience.

‘ Again, The Oath is not to be tendred to any, that by Intendment shall want Reason to know the Sovereignty of the Prince.

‘ If any Man, be he never so unlearned, do openly pronounce the contrary of the Oath against the Queen, they themselves will say, He deserveth Death as a Traitor ; and that it is not Matter of Heresy or Doctrine. If so, it is to see whether the Denial to accept the same be an Affirmation to the contrary. If so, then Treason doubtless.’

Several more Acts were made this Session, which tho’ of not so much Significancy to the State as the former, are yet worth Observation ; to shew the extraordinary Humour of the Times.

‘ An Act also was made by this Parliament, *Act against against fond and fantastical Prophecies.* The Ground and Cause of this Act is assigned in the Beginning of the said Act to be, ‘ That divers ill-disposed Persons in King *Edward’s* Days, inclining to the moving of Factions, Seditions and Rebellions within this Realm, made use of fond Prophecies to amuse the People easily carried away by such Deceits, which appeared to them like something Divine.’ Wherefore, an Act was made against these Prophecies in that King’s Reign, which was expired.

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But the like Practice began now again to be used, in faining, imagining, inventing and publishing such *fond and fantastical Prophecies*, as well concerning the Queen, as divers honourable Personages of the Realm, and others, to the great Disquiet, Trouble and Peril of the Queen and Realm. Therefore, now a new Act was made against such Framers and Divulgers of idle Prophecies. And the Penalty of a Year's Imprisonment, and 10*l.* for every Offence, was laid upon every one that did set forth in Writing, Printing, Singing, or by any other open Speech or Deed, any *fond and false Prophecies*; upon, or by occasion of, any Arms, Fields, Beasts, Badges, or other such like Things accustomed in Arms, Cognizances or Signets; or upon, or by reason of any Time, Year or Day, Name, Bloodshed or Wax; to intend thereby to make any Rebellion, Insurrection, Dissention, Loss of Life, or other Disturbance within the Realm. The second Offence was made Imprisonment during Life, and Forfeiture of all Goods and Chatels.

* This Act also was made to meet with those that were disaffected to the present Government and Religion established: Who would privately foretel, by some pretended hidden Skill, the short Duration of the Queen's Reign, or the Time or Year of her Death: And by the Coats of Arms, and Bearings of some of the Chief Persons about the Queen, [as the Bear and Ragged Staff belonging to the Lord Robert Dudley,] &c. would frame Significations of Things fortunate to themselves, and unfortunate to those they bore Illwill to.

Also against Con-
juration and
Witchcraft.

* Another Act was made *against Conjurations, Enchantments and Witchcrafts*. That which gave Ground to this Act was, 'That as these wicked Practices now-a-Days prevailed much, so there was no ordinary or condign Punishment provided against such Practicers of Conjurations and Invocation of wicked Spirits, Sorceries, Charms, Enchantments and Witchcrafts, the Statute against them 33 *Hen.* 8. having been repealed 1 *Edw.* 6.' Since the Repeal whereof, many phantastical and devilish

devilish Persons had devised and practised Invocations and Conjurations of Evil Spirits, and had used and practised Witchcraft, Enchantments, &c. to the Destruction of this Realm, and for other lewd Intentions and Purposes. The Penalty of such was to suffer the Pains of Death as Felons, when upon any such Witchcraft or Enchantment, any Person should happen to be killed or destroyed: Or Imprisonment for a Year, and once every Quarter of the said Year to stand upon the Pillory six Hours in some Market-Town, and there openly confess his Error and Offence; when by such Enchantment or Witchcraft any Person was not killed, but wasted, consumed, or lamed in his Body or Members; or whereby any Goods or Chatels of any Person should be destroyed, wasted or impaired. The second Offence to be Death.

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‘ Another Act now made was, *For the due Execution of the Writ de Excommunicato Capiendo.* Let me also relate the Reason and Occasion of this Act; as in the Preamble is specified: Namely, ‘ That
 ‘ divers Persons offending in many grievous Crimes
 ‘ and Offences, appertaining to the Jurisdiction of
 ‘ the Ecclesiastical Courts, were many Times unpunished for lack of good and due Execution of the
 ‘ said Writ.’ The great Abuse whereof was, That the said Writ was not returnable into any Court, but left to the Direction of the Sheriffs or their Deputies; by whose Negligence and Defaults the Writ by this Means was not executed at all. And hereby such Offenders were much encouraged to continue their sinful Life. Therefore it was enacted, That the said Writ that should be awarded out of the High Court of Chancery, should be made in the Time of the Term returnable in the Court of King’s-Bench, in the Term next after the *Teste* of the said Writ. And that if the Writ delivered of Record to the Sheriff, or his Deputy, were not duly returned before the Justices of the King’s-Bench; or that any Default or Negligence had been used, in not well serving and executing it; then they to assess such Amerciament upon the said Sheriff or his

Act relating to
Excommunicati-
on.

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his Deputy, as they should in their Discretion think meet. And in case the Sheriff, or his Officer, return, that the Party named in the Writ could not be found within his Bailiffwick, then the Justices of the said Bench to award a Writ of *Capias*. And how that was to be managed, and the Punishment of the Person excommunicated, &c. may be read in the Act, the Particulars too long to be inserted.

What the Crimes or Causes of proceeding to excommunicate any, and the said Writ thereupon, may be understood by a Provision in this Act, *viz.* That in the *Significavit* must be mentioned the Cause of the Excommunication, as some Matter of Heresy, or refusing to have a Child baptized, or to receive the Holy Communion as now commonly used to be received by the Church of *England*, or to come to Divine Service as now commonly used in the said Church, or Error in Matter of Religion or Doctrine now received and allowed in this Church; Incontinency, Usury, Simony, Perjury in the Ecclesiastical Court, Idolatry.

This Act seems to back and give a Force to the Censures of the Bishops. Which was needful in this Juncture, to check Papists, and other scandalous Crimes and corrupt Doctrines against the Religion, as now reformed. For in the Act there is a *Saving* to the Authority of Archbishops and Bishops, as to certify any Persons Excommunicate, so to accept and receive the Submission and Satisfaction of Persons so excommunicate in Manner and Form heretofore used; and to absolve and release them, and the same to signify, as heretofore hath been accustomed, into the Court of Chancery: And thereupon to have such Writs for the Deliverance of such Persons, so absolved and released, from the Sheriff's Custody or Prison, as heretofore they, or any of them, had, or, of Right, ought to have.

Thus far Mr. *Strype*.

Other Acts
pass'd,

The rest of the Acts passed this Session are not much to our Purpose. Tho' there were several more good Laws made for the Relief of the Poor; the Punishment

Punishment of those Vagabonds, called *Egyptians*, and Forgers of Evidences. As, also, such as should commit Sodomy or Perjury. Other Acts were made for well-ordering of the Royal Navy; for the Support and Improvement of Tillage. Several more Attainders were also revers'd; amongst which that of the Children of *Cranmer*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, is the most remarkable. An Act was passed for a Translation of the Bible, and other Divine Offices, into the *Welsh* Tongue. Lastly, an Act was made declaring the Authority of the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* and the Lord Chancellor's to be all one. So that now Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Knight, who is, thro' both those Parliaments, stiled *Custos Magni Sigilli*, is declared to be the same as Lord High Chancellor of *England*. It is to be remarked, that *Henry VIII.* had, by Act of Parliament, consigned the first Place of Honour to the Lord Chancellor; the second to the Lord Treasurer; the third to the President of his Majesty's Council; and the fourth to the Lord Privy Seal. And, they were to take Place of all Dukes, except those of the Blood Royal.

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And Attainders
revers'd.

In the Proceedings of the House of Commons, this Parliament, the Affair of the Queen's Marriage and settling the Succession, was again renewed. We are told, that on *January* 16th a Motion was made in that House; and on the 19th, the Speaker and twenty-four more were appointed a Committee to draw up the Form of a Petition to her Majesty for the Purpose aforesaid. And, on the 28th of the same Month, the Speaker, with the whole House, attended on the Queen; and after a short Oration of his own, delivered their Petition to her. The Form of which is preserved in *D'Ewes's Journals*, as follows:

‘ YOUR Commons in this your Majesty’s
 ‘ present Parliament assembled, Most High
 ‘ and Mighty Princess, our Most Dread Sovereign
 ‘ Lady, as they do daily, to their Commodity and
 ‘ Comfort, feel and receive the inestimable Benefits
 ‘ of

Another Petition
of the Commons
for the Queen to
marry.

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of your most gracious Government of this your
 Realm, in Peace and Surety, so do also most
 thankfully acknowledge the same, beseeching Al-
 mighty God long to bless and continue your most
 prosperous Reign over them; and among all these
 Benefits which they daily receive of your High-
 ness, they have at this Time willed me, in their
 Names, to recognize unto your Highness, that
 they account it not the least, but rather among
 the greatest of them all, That your Majesty hath
 at this Time assembled your Parliament, for sup-
 plying and redressing the greatest Wants and De-
 faults in your Commonweal, and for the establish-
 ing the Surety of the same; which your Maje-
 sty's most gracious Meaning, hath been at your
 Commandment, signified unto us, by the Right
 Honourable the Lord Keeper of your Great Seal
 of *England*; namely in this, that he willed us first
 to have Consideration of the greatest Matters that
 nearest touch'd the State of the Realm, and the
 Preservation thereof, seeming therein also to ex-
 press unto us the Conformity of your Majesty's
 Mind, in having principal Respect to the Matters
 of greatest Weight; and for that Respect as-
 sembling this your Parliament. And forasmuch
 as your said Subjects see nothing in this whole E-
 state of so great Importance to your Majesty, and
 the whole Realm, nor so necessary at this Time
 to be reduced to Certainty, as the sure Continu-
 ance of the Government of the Imperial Crown
 thereof, and the most honourable Issue of your
 Body (which Almighty God send us to your
 Highness's Comfort) and for Want thereof, in
 some certain Limitation to guide the Obedience
 of our Posterity; and where Almighty God, to
 our great Terror and dreadful Warning, lately
 touched your Highness with some Danger of your
 most noble Person, by Sicknes; from which so
 soon as your Grace was, by God's Favour and
 Mercy to us, recovered, your Highness sent out
 your Writs of Parliament, by Force whereof your
 Subjects are at this Time assembled; your said
 Subjects

‘ Subjects are both by the Necessity and Importance Queen Elizabeth,
‘ of the Matter, and by the Convenience of the 1562.
‘ Time of calling them immediately upon your
‘ Recovery, enforced to gather, and confess, that
‘ your Majesty, of your most gracious and motherly
‘ Care for them and their Posterity, have
‘ summoned this Parliament, principally for establishing
‘ of some certain Limitation of the Imperial Crown of your
‘ Realm, for Preservation of your Subjects from certain
‘ and utter Destruction; (if the same should not be provided
‘ in your Life, which God long continue.) They cannot, I
‘ say, but acknowledge your Majesty hath most graciously
‘ considered the great Dangers, the unspeakable Miseries
‘ of Civil Wars, the perillous Intermingling of Foreign
‘ Princes with seditious, ambitious and factious Subjects
‘ at Home; the Waste of noble Houses, the Slaughter of
‘ People, Subversion of Towns; Intermision of all Things
‘ pertaining to the Maintenance of the Realm, Unsurety
‘ of all Men’s Possessions, Lives and Estates; daily
‘ Interchange of Attainders and Treasons. All these
‘ Mischiefs, and infinite others, most likely and evident,
‘ if your Majesty should be taken from us, without known
‘ Heir, (which God forbid) to fall upon your Subjects,
‘ to the utter Subversion of the whole, whereof you have
‘ Charge under God: If good Provision should not be
‘ had in this Behalf. Your Majesty hath weighed the
‘ Examples of foreign Nations, as what ensued the
‘ Death of Great *Alexander*, when for Want of certain
‘ Heirs by him begotten, or appointed, the Variety of
‘ Titles, the Diversity of Dispositions in them that
‘ had Titles, the Ambition of them that under Colour
‘ of Doubtfulness of Title forsook all Obedience of
‘ Titles, destroyed his Dominions, and wasted Posterity
‘ with mutual Wars and Slaughters: In what miserable
‘ Case also was this Realm itself, when the Title of
‘ the Crown was tossed in Question, between the two
‘ Royal Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, till your most
‘ noble Progenitors *Henry* the Seventh, and the
‘ Lady

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' Lady *Elizabeth* his Wife, restored it to a settled
 ' Unity, and left the Crown in a certain Course of
 ' Succession? These Things as your Majesty
 ' hath, upon your own Danger, most graciously
 ' considered for our Comfort and Safety; so we
 ' most humble Subjects, knowing the Preservation
 ' of ourselves, and all our Posterity, to depend
 ' upon the Safety of your Majesty's most Royal
 ' Person, have most carefully and diligently con-
 ' sidered, how the Want of Heirs of your Body,
 ' and certain Limitation of Succession after you, is
 ' most perillous to your Highness, whom God
 ' long preserve amongst us. We have been admo-
 ' nished of the great Malice of your foreign Ene-
 ' mies, which even in your Lifetime have sought to
 ' transfer the Dignity and Right of your Crown to
 ' a Stranger; we have noted their daily most dan-
 ' gerous Practices against your Life and Reign; we
 ' have heard of some Subjects of this Land, most
 ' unnaturally confederated with your Enemies, to
 ' attempt the Destruction of your Majesty, and us
 ' all that live by you; we fear a Faction of Here-
 ' ticks in your Realm, contentious and malicious
 ' Papists, lest they most unnaturally against their
 ' Country, most madly against their own Safety,
 ' and most treacherously against your Highness, not
 ' only hope for the woful Day of your Death, but
 ' also lay in wait to advance some Title, under
 ' which they may revive their late unspeakable
 ' Cruelty, to the Destruction of Goods, Possessions
 ' and Bodies, and Thraldom of the Souls and Con-
 ' sciences of your faithful and Christian Subjects;
 ' we see nothing to withstand their Desire, but
 ' your only Life; their Unkindness and Cruelty we
 ' have tasted; we fear much to what Attempt the
 ' Hope of such Opportunity (nothing withstanding
 ' them but your Life) will move them; we find
 ' how necessary it is for your Preservation, that
 ' there be more Bounds set between your Ma-
 ' jesty's Life and their Desire; we see, on the other
 ' Side, how there can be no such Danger to your
 ' Majesty by Ambition of any apparent Heir esta-
 ' blished

‘ blished by your Benefit and Advancement, for
 ‘ Want of Issue of your Majesty’s Royal Body, as
 ‘ you are now subject unto, by reason of their De-
 ‘ fire and Hope ; we know not how many pretend
 ‘ Titles and Trust to succeed you, whose secret De-
 ‘ fire we so much more fear, because neither their
 ‘ Number, Force, nor Likelihood of Disposition, is
 ‘ known unto us ; and so we can the less beware of
 ‘ them for your Preservation.

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‘ We find also, by good Proof, that the certain
 ‘ Limitation of the Crown of *France*, hath in that
 ‘ Realm procured so great Quiet, as neither the
 ‘ Person of the Prince in Possession hath been in-
 ‘ dangered by secret or open Practice; nor the Com-
 ‘ monweal’ molested by civil Dissention, through
 ‘ any Quarrel attempted, for the Title of that
 ‘ Crown. And somewhat near home, we have
 ‘ remembred the miserable Estate of *Scotland*, after
 ‘ the Death of King *Alexander*, without any certain
 ‘ Heir, or Limitation to whom the Crown of *Scot-*
 ‘ *land* should remain ; by reason whereof the whole
 ‘ Estate of that Realm was left open to the Ambi-
 ‘ tion of many Competitors, and most grievous
 ‘ Desolation and Spoil, that grew upon such Divi-
 ‘ sion ; which afterwards gave Occasion to King
 ‘ *James* the Fifth, to limit the Crown of *Scotland*
 ‘ to certain noble Families of that Realm ; where-
 ‘ by they, at this present, enjoy that quiet Surety
 ‘ which we want. And all your Majesty’s most
 ‘ noble Progenitors, Kings of this Realm, have
 ‘ been in this Behalf so careful, that from the Con-
 ‘ quest till this present Day, the Realm was never
 ‘ left, as it is now, without a certain Heir, living
 ‘ and known, to whom the Crown, after the
 ‘ Death of the Prince, should appertain. So, as
 ‘ your Majesty of your singular Care for us, and
 ‘ our Posterity, hath at this Time assembled us, for
 ‘ establishing this great and only Stay of our Safeties :
 ‘ We again, Most Gracious Sovereign Lady, ac-
 ‘ knowledge our selves, and all that we have, to
 ‘ depend upon your Preservation, being according
 ‘ to our bounden Duty, most careful of the same,
 ‘ are

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are in most humble Manner come to your Majesty's Presence: And I, the Mouth appointed for them, together with, and in the Name of all your most loving, natural and obedient Subjects, do present unto you our most lowly Suit and Petition, That forasmuch as of your Majesty's Person would come the most redoubted and best Heirs of your Crown, such as in Time to come we would most comfortably see, and our Posterity most joyfully obey:

It may please your Most Excellent Majesty, for our Sakes, for our Preservation and Comforts, and at our most humble Suit, to take to yourself some honourable Husband, whom it shall please you to join unto in Marriage; whom, whatsoever he be that your Majesty shall choose, we protest and promise, with all Humility and Reverence, to honour, love and serve, as to our most bounded Duty shall appertain. And where by the Statute which your most noble Father assented unto, of his most princely and fatherly Zeal for his most loving Subjects, for the Limitation of the Succession of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, your Majesty is the last expressly named within the Body of the said Act; and for that your Subjects cannot judge, nor do know any thing of the Form or Validity of any further Limitations, left uncertain for Want of Heirs of your Body, whereby some great dangerous Doubt remaineth in their Hearts, to their great Grief, Peril and Unquietness: It may also please your Majesty, by Proclamation of Certainty already provided, if any such be, or else by Limitations of Certainty, if none be, to provide a most gracious Remedy in this great Necessity; which, by your most honourable and motherly Carefulness for them, hath occasioned this Assembly; That in this convenient Time of Parliament, upon your late Danger most graciously called, by you, for that Cause, your Grace may now extend to us that great Benefit, which otherwise, or at other Times, perhaps, shall never be able to be done again; so not only

‘ only we, but all ours hereafter, and forever, shall
 ‘ owe no less to your Majesty’s Propagation of Suc-
 ‘ cession, than we do already owe to your most fa-
 ‘ mous Grandfather, King *Henry* the Seventh, his
 ‘ uniting of Division. And your Subjects, on their
 ‘ Behalfe, for your Majesty’s further Assurance,
 ‘ whereupon their own Preservation wholly de-
 ‘ pendeth, shall employ their whole Endeavours,
 ‘ and Wits, and Power, to renew, devise and esta-
 ‘ blish the most strong and beneficial Acts and Laws
 ‘ of Preservation and Surety of your Majesty and
 ‘ of your Issue, in the Imperial Crown of this
 ‘ Realm ; and the most penal, sharp and terrible
 ‘ Statutes, to all that shall but once practise, and
 ‘ attempt, or conceive against your Safety ; that
 ‘ by any possible Means they may invent or esta-
 ‘ blish, with such Limitations of Conditions, and
 ‘ Restraints to all in Remainders, such grievous
 ‘ Pains, and narrow Animadversions to all that
 ‘ shall enterprize or imagine any thing in Prejudice
 ‘ of your Highness, and your Issue, as your Majesty
 ‘ shall not have any Cause of Suspicion, but most
 ‘ assured Ground of Confidence in all your faithful
 ‘ Subjects, continually watching and warding for
 ‘ your Preservation, which God long continue,
 ‘ that you may see your Childrens Children, to His
 ‘ Honour and our Comfort, and incline your gra-
 ‘ cious Ear to our most humble Petitions.’

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No Answer was returned to this Address, till the
 16th of *February* ; and then Mr. Comptroller, and
 Mr. Secretary, acquainted the House, ‘ That her
 ‘ Majesty doubted not but the grave Heads of this
 ‘ House did right well consider that she forgot not
 ‘ the Suit of this House, for the Succession ; the
 ‘ Matter being so weighty, nor could forget it.
 ‘ But she willed the young Heads to take Example
 ‘ of their Elders’. We may believe this short An-
 swer to their long Address was not well relished by
 the Commons ; but still, no farther Notice was
 taken of it, ‘till the last Day of this Session. And,

The Queen’s
short Answer.

On the 10th Day of *April*, the Bills being all
 ready for the Royal Assent, the Queen came to the
 House

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House of Lords, in the Afternoon; and, on presenting the Bills, the Speaker of the House of Commons made the following Speech :

The Speaker's
Speech to the
Queen, enforcing
the Address for
her Marriage.

‘ **T**HIS it is, most excellent and virtuous Princess, &c. As Nature giveth to every reasonable Creature to speak, so it is a Grace to be well learned; and I representing the Mouth of such a Body as cannot speak for itself, and in the Presence of your Majesty's Person and Nobles, must most humbly desire and crave of your Highness, to bear with my Imperfections.

‘ ‘ This Commonwealth hath been, by God's Providence, first instituted, and since, by Mans Policy, continued; wherein Justice and good Counsel is most to be preferred: For ancient Law-Makers, and Authors of good Laws, be worthy to be praised, and had in perpetual Remembrance; and such are the Laws that we have made in this Commonwealth, as, in my Opinion, do excell and pass all other human Laws.

‘ Amongst divers Authors of good Laws, we have set forth unto us, to the End they should not be forgotten, three Queens; the first *Palesina*, the Queen, reigning before the Deluge, who made Laws as well concerning Peace as War.

‘ The second was *Ceres*, the Queen, which made Laws concerning Evil-Doers. And,

‘ The third was *Marc*, Wife of *Bathilacus*, Mother to *Stillicus*, the King, who enacted Laws for the Maintenance and Preservation of the Good and Well-Doers.

‘ And since that Time, *Etheldred*, a King in this Realm, established Laws, and set in most beaten, high, and cross Ways, a Cross, and therein a Hand, with a Ring of Gold, pointing to the most usual; which also stood untaken away or diminished during his Life.

‘ And so you are the fourth Queen, Establisher of good Laws, our most dread Sovereign Lady, for your Time, as happy as any of the three; which Happiness for the present I let slip, and desire
‘ fire

‘ fire, as all our Hearts do, that some happy Marriage to your Contentation might shortly be brought to pass. Your Majesty finding this Realm out of Order, and full of Abuses, have continually had a special Care to reform the said Abuses; and for the more expelling thereof, have congregated together this Assembly, whereby partly to your Contentation, for Reformation of the same to its old pristine Estate, and for Money and Peace is all that chiefly we have done; for which Purposes, we have agreed upon and made certain Laws, which, until your Majesty have granted your Royal Assent, and so given Life thereunto, cannot be called Laws.

‘ And herein requiring of your Majesty three Petitions, two for the Commons, and one for myself; the first for such Laws as they have made, being as yet without Life, and so no Laws; that it would please your Majesty to grant your Royal Assent unto them. Secondly, that your Highness would accept their Doings in good Part, that the Imperfections of their Labours, by your Acceptance may be supplied; for, as appeareth in sundry Histories, the Persons of those Princes and Subjects have long continued, which have well used themselves one toward the other; which, without neglecting of my Duty, I cannot, in your Presence, so let slip: For, as it appeareth in divers Histories, the noble *Alexander* having presented unto him, by one of his poor Soldiers, the Head of one of his Enemies, he, not forgetting the Service of his Soldier, although herein he had done but his Duty, gave unto him a Cup of Gold; which first the Soldier refused; but after that *Alexander* had commanded it to be filled with Wine, and delivered him, he received it; whereby appeareth the noble and liberal Heart of the said *Alexander*.

‘ Also, *Xenophon*, writing of the Life of *Cyrus*, who being liberal of Gifts, having vanquished *Cræsus*, and he marvelled at his Liberality, said, It were better to keep it by him, than so liberally to
‘ depart

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depart from it ; unto whom *Cyrus* answered,
That his Treasure was innumerable ; and appointed *Cræsus* a Day, to see the same ; and thereupon took Order, that his Subjects should, before that Time, bring in their Treasure ; which being innumerable, and more than *Cyrus* by any other Means could have given ; *Cræsus* much wondered thereat ; *Cyrus* said, Thou causest me to take of my Subjects, and retain the same ; but what need I to take, when they so frankly will bring it unto me ; and so as Occasion serveth, ready continually to supply my Want ? therefore, how can I be but rich, having such Subjects ? but if they by any Means were poor, then were I poor also.

Which two worthy Examples of *Alexander* and *Cyrus*, your Majesty hath not forgotten to pursue ; but with the like Zeal have hitherto always used us, and now especially at this present, by your most gracious and free Pardon ; for the which, and all other, they by me their Mouth, do most humbly thank you ; acknowledging such and so much Love and Zeal of their Parts towards your Majesty, as ever any Subjects did bear towards their Prince and Governour. And in Token thereof, with one Assent to offer to your Highness, one *Subsidy* and two *Fifteenths*, most humbly beseeching your Majesty to accept it, not in Recompence of your Benefits, but also as a Token of their Duty, as the poor Widow's Farthing was accepted, as appeareth in the Scripture.

Thirdly, That it may also like your Majesty, to accept my humble Thanks in allowing, and admitting me, being unworthy of this Place, and bearing with my unworthy Service ; and last of all, my unfitting Words, uplandish and rude Speech ; beseeching God to incline your Majesty's Heart to Marriage, and that he will so bless and send you good Success thereunto, that we may see the Fruits and Children that may come thereof ; so that you and they may, prosperously,
and

‘ and as long Time, reign over us, as ever did any Queen Elizabeth.
 ‘ Kings or Princes; which God for his Mercies 1562.
 ‘ Sake grant unto us.’

Then the Queen called the Lord Keeper unto her, commanding him, in her Name, to answer the Speaker, as she then declared unto him; which followeth:

Mr. Speaker,

‘ **T**HE Queen’s Majesty hath heard how hum-
 ‘ bly and discreetly you have declared the The Lord Keep-
 er’s Answer, in
 the Queen’s
 Name.
 ‘ Proceedings, and for Answer hath commanded me,
 ‘ that I should utter three or four Things. The
 ‘ first, for her Royal Assent to the Acts made at this
 ‘ Parliament. Secondly, How comfortably, and al-
 ‘ so thankfully, her Majesty accepteth your Li-
 ‘ berality. And, thirdly, For the executing of the
 ‘ Laws.

‘ Here, my Lords and Masters, although I can-
 ‘ not declare, or open it unto you, as her Majesty
 ‘ hath commanded me; and therefore willingly
 ‘ would hold my Tongue, if I might; which, for
 ‘ that I cannot be so excused, I say unto you, as fol-
 ‘ loweth; not doubting of her Highness’s Clemen-
 ‘ cy in bearing with me herein.

‘ First, Her Majesty considereth how wisely you
 ‘ have done for the abolishing of the *Romish* Power,
 ‘ the common Enemy of this Realm; remembring
 ‘ your Care for the Defence of the same Realm,
 ‘ your Respects for the Maintenance of Victual,
 ‘ the Banishment of Vagabonds, and Relief of the
 ‘ Poor, with others: And therefore alloweth your
 ‘ worthy Proceedings herein.

‘ Secondly, Your Liberality and Benevolence,
 ‘ wherein your wise Considerations towards her
 ‘ Charges, is by her Majesty taken in thankful
 ‘ Part; and, I take it to be my Duty to put you
 ‘ in Remembrance, that although this Subsidy is
 ‘ made, and to be born by Subjects, not daily ac-
 ‘ customed thereunto, yet that at her first En-
 ‘ trance she had the like; and that the Grant
 ‘ thereof

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‘ thereof is more liberal than afore hath been accustomed, and that it is of your Necessity, yet it is
‘ to withstand a greater Necessity, that for Fault
‘ thereof would else have ensued ; and therefore
‘ that Penny is well spent that saveth a Groat ;
‘ which also hath been granted, neither with Persuasions, Threats, nor sharp Words, which afore
‘ this Time hath been accustomed, but by one general Consent of you all ; wherein appeareth your
‘ good Wills, and benevolent Minds, you bear to
‘ her Majesty, which Zeal she most kindly accepteth ; and, as she hath Cause, thanketh you.

‘ Again, by her Majesty’s Command, she, remembering by whom, why, and to whom this was
‘ granted, doth thank as freely as you have granted, the most Part whereof hath been accepted ; and
‘ lest those that have so freely offered should not
‘ be so ready toward the gathering, thinketh it much
‘ better to lose the Sum granted, than to lose your
‘ benevolent Minds.

‘ Thirdly, To the Execution of Laws, I have
‘ little to say, although the whole Substance consisteth therein ; because I did, in the Beginning of
‘ this Parliament, declare my Opinion in that Matter ; and therefore, as now you have, to your
‘ Charges, taken Pains in making good Laws, so
‘ put to your Helps, to see these and all others executed ; for as it is infallible, that a Thing done
‘ unconstrained, is much better than when they be
‘ constrained thereunto ; even so her Majesty willeth you to look well, without more Words, to
‘ the Execution, lest her Grace should be driven to
‘ do, as she doth in her Ecclesiastical Laws, make
‘ Commissions to inquire, whether they be done or
‘ no ; whereby she shall know those Justices and
‘ Officers, who have done their Duty, and are to be
‘ used in Service of Justice, whereof her Majesty
‘ desireth to have many ; and again she shall understand who are to be barred from the like Rooms,
‘ and the penal Statutes to be on them executed,
‘ after this gentle Warning : Which Inquiry, I
‘ know, is like to fall on me, as well as another.

‘ How-

Howbeit, if Justice be not executed, I shall be glad to see this Order taken. Notwithstanding, her Majesty hopeth that this her Admonition shall not need, for that you see Laws without Execution, be as a Torch unlighted, or Body without a Soul: Therefore, look well to the Executing. Here endeth the three Things, which her Majesty commanded me to say unto you.

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Besides this, her Majesty hath to answer your Petitions. And as to the first, in which you desire her Royal Assent to such Matters as you have agreed upon; to that she saith, How at this present she is come for that Purpose.

And, for your other Petitions, to accept in good Part, as well your Service as the Travails and Doings of the Nether House, this Parliament: To that she answereth, how that she doth not only accept them in good Part, but also thanketh both you and them for the same.

And touching your Request, before this, made unto her, for her Marriage and Succession; because it is of such Importance, whereby I doubted my own opening thereof, I therefore desired her Majesty, that her Meaning might be written, which she hath done, and delivered to me, to be read, as followeth:

“ Since there can be no duer Debt than Princes
“ Words, which I would observe, therefore
“ I answer to the same. Thus it is; The two
“ Petitions, which you made unto me, do contain
“ two Things, my Marriage, and Succession after
“ me. For the First, If I had let slip too much
“ Time, or if my Strength had been decayed, you
“ might the better have spoke therein; or if any
“ think I never meant to try that Life, they be de-
“ ceived; but if I may hereafter bend my Mind
“ thereunto, the rather for fulfilling your Request,
“ I shall be therewith very well content.

“ For the Second; The Greatness thereof mak-
“ eth me to say and pray, that I may linger here in
“ this Vale of Misery, for your Comfort; wherein

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Queen Elizabeth.
1562. " I have Witnels of my Study and Travail, for
" your Surety : And I cannot, with *Nunc dimittis*,
" end my Life ; without I see some Foundation of
" your Surety after my Grave-Stone."

The Parliament
prorogued.

After which, her Majesty gave the Royal Assent to thirty - one publick and seventeen private Acts. And then the Lord Keeper prorogued this Parliament to the 2d Day of *October* next ensuing.

Nothing material happened to the State in this Interval ; we shall pass on to the Time limited by the last Prorogation. And, on the 2d of *October*, the same Year, the Parliament being again met, the Lord Treasurer informed the Members of both Houses, ' That for sundry Causes and Considerations, ' but, particularly, by reason the *Plague* (a) was then ' raging in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and ' the Suburbs of the same, her Majesty had thought ' good to prorogue this Parliament, still farther, to ' the 5th Day of *October*, in the next Year.' The Writ of Prorogation is inserted, at length, in the *Journals* ; dated at the Castle of *Windsor*, *October* 2d, in the 5th Year of her Reign. This pestilential Distemper was brought into *England*, at that Time, by the Soldiers that had served in the Garrison at *Newhaven*, then besieged and taken by the *French*. It spread to such a Degree in *London*, that there were carried out from that City alone, which then consisted of 121 Parishes, 21,530 dead Bodies. *Stowe* writes, that there was no *Michaelmas* Term kept, and that the City was visited with a threefold Plague this Year, Pestilence, Scarcity of Money, and a great Dearth of Victuals (b).

The War had now been, also, proclaimed on both Sides, but it did not continue long ; for the next Year a Peace was concluded between the two contending Powers. But tho' the Parliament met again, at the Time appointed, it was again prorogued from the 5th of *October*, to the 30th Day of *April* next

(a) *Maxime, propter Infectionem Aeris pestiferi, per Civitates London & Westminster, & Suburbia, ad præsens grassante.* Journ. Procer.

(b) *Stowe's Chron. p. 656. Hollingshead, &c.*

next following; without any Reasons given for it in the Writ. And, from the last named Day, another Writ still prorogued this Parliament to the 4th of *October* next ensuing. Nor was it then suffered to sit, but was once more prorogued to the 7th Day of *February*; from which Time this Parliament was still prorogued to the 30th Day of *September*, which was then in the eighth Year of this Reign.

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1566.

Anno Regni. 3.
1566.

These frequent Prorogations, which are so far from being in *Die ad Diem*, that they are almost in *Anno ad Annum*, are what we have not yet met with in the Course of this History. It seems as if the Queen and her Ministry were too well pleased with the former Proceedings of this Parliament to suffer a Dissolution of it, tho' they had no Occasion for its Sitting for so many Years together. However; at the last appointed Time, they now met to do Business; but an Accident had happened to the House of Commons, which greatly disconcerted their Proceedings. *Thomas Williams*, Esq; their Speaker, was dead; and, as they could not act without one, they were at a Loss what to do in a Case that was hitherto unprecedented. A long Entry is made in the *Journals* of the House of Lords, relating to this Affair; whereby it appears that the Commons, after much Deliberation, agreed upon this; That a Committee should be appointed to wait upon the Lord Keeper and the Lords of the other House, to know their Opinion of the Matter. This Committee consisted of Sir *Edward Rogers*, Comptroller of the Household; Sir *Francis Knolles*, Vice-Chamberlain; Sir *William Cecil*, Chief Secretary; Sir *Ambrose Cave*, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*; four of the Chief Members of their House; and twenty more Persons joined with them in Commission. These were to repair to the Lords, to have their Aid and Assistance, both for Intimation of the Affair to her Majesty, and to know her good Pleasure in it. The Lords, after some Consultation, agreed, That the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer of *England*, the Duke of *Norfolk* and the

The Parliament
meet after many
Prorogations.

Proceedings in
the Commons,
on the Death of
their Speaker.

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Marquess of *Noribampton*, should be appointed to go along with the four Principals of the other House, being all of the Privy Council, to intimate the Matter to her Majesty, in the Name of both Assemblies, and to know her Pleasure therein.

The Result of this was, that, on the second Day of their Meeting, the first having been spent in the Introduction of some young Lords, by the Queen's Writs, a Commission was shewed by the Lord Keeper, directed to himself, under the broad Seal, and was read in the House; importing, That the Queen commanded the said Keeper to call before him all the Members of the other House, and to acquaint them, that her Majesty's Pleasure was that they should resort to their usual Place, and there to chuse a new Speaker, after their accustomed Manner. Which done, three or four of that House, in the Name of the rest, were to inform the Queen of their Choice, who then was to appoint a Day when she would have their new Speaker presented to her for her Approbation. Dated at *Westminster*, *October* 1st, in the eighth Year of her Reign. But no more Notice is taken of this Matter in the *Journals* of the House of Lords.

Richard Onslow,
Esq; elected
Speaker.

But, in those of the Commons the Matter is carried farther. We are there told, that the Members of that House, by vertue of the Queen's Writ, went upon the Election of a new Speaker. That Sir *Edward Rogers*, Knight, Comptroller of the Household, made a Motion, that whereas *Richard Onslow*, Esq; her Majesty's Solicitor General, was a Member of that House, and yet attended the House of Lords, that they would have him restored to them to join in the Election of a Speaker. On which, Notice being sent to the Lords, the said *Richard Onslow*, Esq; was sent down to them; who endeavoured to shew, by his Writ of Attendance, and other Arguments, that he could not serve in both Capacities; he was, nevertheless, adjudged to be a Member of that House. Mr. Comptroller then named the said Mr. *Onslow* as their Speaker; who, again, endeavouring to evade it, urged, not only his own Inabilities,

bilities, but the Oath he had taken to her Majesty ; Queen Elizabeth. 1566.
and required them to proceed to a new Election.
On this, the House divided, and the Numbers for
having him Speaker were eighty-two, against it
seventy : So he was placed in the Chair. The
next Day, the Queen being come to the House of
Lords, and seated on the Throne, the Commons
new Speaker was introduced between Sir *Edward
Rogers*, Comptroller of the Household, and Sir *Fran-
cis Knolles*, Vice-Chamberlain. Who, having made
the usual Reverences at the Bar, spoke as follows :

‘ **I** f it please your Royal Majesty, most virtuous
‘ and most excellent Princess, at the humble
‘ Suit of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses of your
‘ Nether House of Parliament, now assembled, was
‘ signified from your Majesty, by the Mouth of the
‘ Lord Keeper, by force of your Highness’s Letters
‘ of Commission, your Pleasure and Grant of free
‘ Election to the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses,
‘ to chuse a fit and learned Man, to be their Speak-
‘ er, instead of *Thomas Williams*, Esq; their late
‘ Speaker, whom it hath pleased God to call to his
‘ Mercy. For which they have commanded me,
‘ in their Names, to render unto your Majesty most
‘ humble Thanks ; and have commanded and
‘ forced me, to my great Grief, to signify to your
‘ Majesty, how accordingly they have proceeded to
‘ an Election, and chosen and assigned me (as I may
‘ say) being most unworthy to speak in this Place,
‘ for this Parliament ; and for that I would not be
‘ obstinate, I am forced to wound myself with their
‘ Sword, which Wound yet being green and new,
‘ your Majesty being the perfect Physician, may
‘ cure in disallowing that which they have allow-
‘ ed ; for that, without your Consent it is nothing.
‘ And although I being very loth to trouble your
‘ Highness, have made Suit and used all Ways and
‘ Means to avoid it, yet could I find no Remedy ;
‘ and therefore am driven to seek Remedy at your
‘ Hands ; for, though I have the Experience of
‘ their Uprightness, Wisdom and Knowledge,
‘ which

His Speech to the
Queen to be ex-
cused from that
Office.

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‘ which chose me ; who, if they would have found
 ‘ any Fault in me, I would lightly have believed them;
 ‘ (notwithstanding that we are for the most Part
 ‘ given to think too much of ourselves) but in this
 ‘ Day, that they seem to enable me to this Calling,
 ‘ whereof I know myself unable, I cannot credit
 ‘ them no more than the simple Patient, grievously
 ‘ tormented with Sicknes, will believe the Physici-
 ‘ an, nay the whole College of them, if they say
 ‘ he hath no Grief, Pain or Sicknes. I therefore
 ‘ do not attempt this releasing of me for any Ease
 ‘ of myself, but would be glad to serve your Maje-
 ‘ sty, to the uttermost of my Power, in the Office
 ‘ of Solicitorship, whereunto I am appointed, and
 ‘ not in this, being unfit for the same ; and that
 ‘ for divers Causes. For, first, I consider, I have to
 ‘ deal with many well learned, the Flower and
 ‘ Choice of the Realm, whose deep Understanding
 ‘ my Wit cannot attain to reach unto. No, if
 ‘ they for great Carefulness would often inculcate it
 ‘ into my dull Head, to signify the same unto your
 ‘ Highness, yet my Memory is so slippery by Na-
 ‘ ture and Sicknes, that I should likely lose it by
 ‘ the Way ; yet, if perhaps I kept Part thereof,
 ‘ I have no other Knowledge to help myself withal,
 ‘ but a little in the Law, far inferior to divers in this
 ‘ House ; and so should want Learning and Utter-
 ‘ ance to declare their Meanings, as it requireth ;
 ‘ especially when I consider your Royal Majesty,
 ‘ a Princess endowed with so many Virtues, Learn-
 ‘ ing and flowing Eloquence, it will abash and a-
 ‘ stonish me ; and therefore finding these Infirmi-
 ‘ ties, and other in me, I think myself most unwor-
 ‘ thy of this Place. I trust therefore only in your
 ‘ Highness, that you will disallow this Election ;
 ‘ and the rather, for that by the true Intent of your
 ‘ said Letters, it may not be gathered that they
 ‘ should elect any of your Majesty’s Officers ;
 ‘ for although the Words be to have their free E-
 ‘ lection, yet the Law may restrain them in some
 ‘ Measure. As for Example, we find in the Law,
 ‘ that if it would please your Majesty, to grant
 ‘ Licence

‘ Licence to a Dean and Chapter, to purchase to them and their Successors, a hundred Pound yearly ; which Words be generally : Yet if the Purchased Lands be holden in *Capite*, this Grant is void. And again, if you grant the Fines and Amerciements of all your Tenants to one, who after chanceth to be Sheriff of a Shire, yet being a Sheriff he cannot have them. So this (me seemeth) if it please your Highness serveth my Case. Another Cause is for Want of Substance to maintain this my Countenance ; but yet your Majesty’s Goodness in this Point stoppeth my Mouth, for that I have none other Living, but in Manner by you. So for all these Considerations, and divers others, as it shall please your Majesty to consider, I humbly desire your Highness to disallow this Election, commanding them to repair again together, and to chuse another more fit to serve the same.’

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1566.

Then the Queen called the Lord Keeper, declaring her Opinion in answering him, who returning to his Place, said as followeth :

Mr. ONSLOW,

‘ THE Queen’s Majesty hath heard and well understood this disabling yourself to this Office ; and doth well perceive your earnest Suit to be discharged of the same ; and for Answer, hath commanded me to say, That she doubteth not, but you very well understand, that when one is chosen to serve the Commonwealth, it is not in him which is called, who hath appointed him thereunto. Also, there is an old Similitude, that like as it appertaineth to the Head to dispose every inferior Member in his Place, so it pertaineth to the Queen’s Majesty, being the Head, to appoint every one in the Commonwealth. This being Truth, and her Majesty withal remembring your Fidelity and long Experience in Parliament-Matters, and again being chosen by so learned and expert Men, thinketh therefore your Fitness needeth not

The Lord Keeper approves his Election.

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‘ not to be disputed here, and therefore they giving
‘ unto you such Faith and Credit, according to an an-
‘ tient Custom, she cannot but do the like ; and also
‘ you in disabling yourself have abled yourself, and
‘ therefore she doth allow and approve this their E-
‘ lection, nothing doubting her Opinion in your
‘ Ability to serve this Turn.’

Mr. ONSLOW’S Answer.

Mr. Onslow’s
Answer.

‘ **S**EEING that it hath pleased your Majesty to rati-
‘ fy this Election, I, to the uttermost of my
‘ Power, shall serve your Highness and this Com-
‘ monwealth ; but first my humble Suit is, That it
‘ would please your Majesty, to accept my Good-
‘ Will ; and, the better to discharge my Duty to-
‘ wards them which have chosen me, that in great
‘ Matters sent from them, I may have Access to
‘ your Majesty at Times convenient, as the Weight
‘ shall require. Secondly, If by Weakness I shall
‘ mistake the Effect and Meaning of the Matters
‘ committed to me, by the Knights, Citizens and
‘ Burgeses, and thereby, against my Will, misreport
‘ them, that then thereby this Commonwealth
‘ may take no Detriment ; but that I may confer
‘ again with them, the better to understand their
‘ Meaning, and so with more Words to utter the
‘ same unto you : And, I shall pray, as I am
‘ bound, to God, for your long and prosperous
‘ Reign over us.’

Then her Majesty called the Lord Keeper, and
commanded him to answer him, which he did as
followeth :

Mr. Speaker,

The Lord Keep-
er’s Reply.

‘ **T**HE Queen’s Majesty hath heard your hum-
‘ ble Petitions, and Request made unto her,
‘ the Effect whereof she gathereth to stand in two
‘ Points : First, For Access to her Person ; and,
‘ secondly, For good Interpretation of your Mean-
‘ ing ; and also larger Declarations thereof, if need
‘ be. For the former, her Highness (as her noble
‘ Proq-

‘ Progenitors have done) is well contented, that in ^{Queen Elizabeth}
 ‘ convenient Time, and for convenient Causes, in 1566.
 ‘ convenient Place, and without Importunity, (for
 ‘ that these Parts now touched, have not been afore
 ‘ this Time so well handled, as she now trusteth it
 ‘ shall be) which considered, as free Access she
 ‘ granteth you, as any other hath had. For the
 ‘ second point, because no Man at all Times may
 ‘ do so well, but sometimes Things may be uttered,
 ‘ which may be mis-spoken; for which Cause, in
 ‘ that Time also you shall have her intreatable; but
 ‘ she thinketh your Circumspection to be such as
 ‘ she shall not therein need.’

‘ Now a Word or two to remember you here
 ‘ present of both the Houses; first, This it is that I
 ‘ would advise you in this present Proceeding, to
 ‘ prefer the most weighty Matters first, and not
 ‘ trouble yourselves with small Matters, and of no
 ‘ Weight; and therein also, that all be done to un-
 ‘ derstand the Truth, and to avoid all superfluous
 ‘ Matters, and losing or driving away of Time.
 ‘ Secondly, It is profitable that you, my Lords, and
 ‘ all others that be here, consider that long Time
 ‘ requireth great Expences, and therefore wish you
 ‘ to make Expedition, the rather to avoid the same.
 ‘ And yet not meaning such Expedition, that any
 ‘ Thing needful to be done, should be lightly passed
 ‘ over, and not substantially done, and seen unto;
 ‘ but only I mean that you should settle yourselves
 ‘ wholly to mighty Matters, and those which be
 ‘ necessary, and to spare superfluous Things, and
 ‘ which needed not. And this is the Sum I have
 ‘ to say.’

The Publisher of *D'Ewes's Journals* charges the
 said *Richard Onslow*, Esq; with omitting, in his O-
 ration to the Queen, the accustomed Claim for Li-
 berty of Speech and Freedom from Arrests for the
 Commons and their Followers. He seems to atone
 for it, indeed, by saying, That, perhaps, the Speak-
 er thought those Rights of the House were so evident
 and unquestionable, that they needed no farther
 Confirmation.— But this *Editor* appears not to have
 considered,

considered, That this was the second Session of a Parliament; that Mr. Solicitor *Onslow* was elected Speaker upon a Vacancy occasioned by the Death of *Thomas Williams*, Esq; And that, as the two Points of Liberty of Speech and Freedom from Arrests had been, before, claimed by his Predecessor in that Office, and allowed by the Queen in the first Session; nothing seemed, now, necessary for him to ask but such Claims as were Personal; which, it appears from his Speech, he did not neglect. And this Practice seems to have been confirmed by subsequent Usage in like Cases.

Nothing material happened, in the House of Lords, till the 22d of *October*, when a Committee of Lords were appointed, by that House, to wait upon the Queen, in the Afternoon, to know her Majesty's Pleasure. There is no farther Entry made of this Matter for that Day; but, three Days after, the Lord Treasurer acquainted the House, That the Queen, considering his hoary Hairs and old Age, accompanied with heavy Grievs; and, understanding the Lord Keeper's slow Amendment, had minded to supply both their Defects, by appointing Sir *Robert Catlyn*, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to execute the Office of the said Lord Keeper, in Parliament. And her Majesty's Letters Patents, for the said Appointment, were read accordingly. We presume this was the Business for which the aforesaid Committee waited on the Queen: The Lord Treasurer had adjourned the House, from Day to Day, since the 5th of *October*, by the Queen's Command; because, as it is entered, the Lord Keeper was fallen ill of the Gout (c), and could not attend his Duty in the House. It seems most probable, that this was the Reason; tho' the Publisher of *D'Ewes's Journals* hints, That it was on the two great Businesses of the Queen's Marriage and Succession, that this Committee was appointed to wait upon her Majesty. But no Entry is made, in either *Journals*, to support this Conjecture, at that Time.

October

October the 26th, a Bill was read the first Time, by the Lords, declaring the Manner of making and consecrating Archbishops and Bishops of this Realm, to be good, lawful and perfect. The same Day it is entered, that the Lords, after deliberate Consultation, and Advice taken, how to provide in the great Matter of Succession and Marriage, which had been intimated to them from the House of Commons, did come to this Resolution, to send Serjeant *Carus* and Mr. *Attorney* down to them to notify, That there would be a Member of their House chosen and sent to them, to take their Opinion in this Affair.

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On the 30th, another Committee of Lords was appointed for a Conference with a select Number of the Lower House, touching a Petition to be made to the Queen's Majesty, both for the Succession and the Marriage. This Committee consisted of these Lords following; the Archbishop of *York*, the Lord Treasurer, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marquis of *Northampton*; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmoreland*, *Shrewsbury*, *Worcester*, *Sussex*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwick*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, and *Leicester*; the Viscounts *Montague* and *Byndon*; the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester*, *Worcester*, *Lincoln*, *Rochester*, *Coventry* and *Litchfield*; the Lord Admiral and the Lord Chamberlain; the Lords *Morley*, *Cobham*, *Gray*, *Wentworth*, *Windsor*, *Rich*, *Sheffield*, *Paget*, *North*, *Hastings* of *Loughborough*, and the Lord *Hunsdon*.

A Committee of both Houses appointed to petition the Queen about her Marriage.

The Committee of the Commons, for managing this Conference, is also entered in the Lords Journals, whose Names were,

Sir <i>Edw. Rogers</i> , Knt.	Sir <i>Thomas Wroth</i> , Knt.
Sir <i>Francis Knolles</i> , Knt.	Master of the Rolls.
Sir <i>William Cecil</i> , Knt.	Sir <i>Nicholas Throgmorton</i> .
Sir <i>Ambrose Cave</i> , Knt.	Sir <i>Morris Berkley</i> .
Sir <i>William Petre</i> , Knt.	Sir <i>Peter Carew</i> .
Sir <i>Ralph Sadler</i> , Knt.	Sir <i>John Chichester</i> .
Sir <i>Walt. Mildmay</i> , Knt.	Sir <i>Thomas Gargrave</i> .
all of her Majesty's	Sir <i>Henry Nevile</i> .
Privy Council.	Sir <i>Thomas Arnold</i> .

Sir

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Sir Harry Asbley.	Mr Recorder of London.
Sir John Pollard.	Mr Francis Fleetwood.
Sir John Perrot.	Mr Montgomery.
Sir Gabriel Carew.	Mr Thomas Fleetwood.
Sir Thomas Gerrard.	Mr Bartue.
Sir William Chester.	Mr Ambrey.
Sir John White.	Mr Haddon.
Sir John St Leger.	Mr Edward Leighton.
Sir John Constable.	Mr Young.
Sir ——— Hastings.	Mr Charles Howard.
Sir John Moore.	Mr Alford.
Sir John Southwark.	Mr Harry Knolles, sen.
Sir John Thinne.	Mr Hassel.
Sir John Turpine.	Mr Hawtrey.
Sir Henry Gates.	Mr John Hastings.
Sir Robert Wingfield.	Mr Asbley of the Jewel- House.
Sir Henry Cheney.	Mr Cooley.
Sir Arth. Chapman, Knts.	Mr William Moore.
Mr Sechford.	Mr Hilliar.
Mr Bell.	Mr Knight Marshal.
Mr Monson.	Mr Robert Mannors.
Mr Dalton.	Mr Barham.
Mr Colbie.	Mr Francis Newdigate.
Mr Kingsmill.	Mr Warncombe.
Mr Molineux.	Mr Francis Brown.
Mr Marsh.	Mr Dunch.
Mr Pratt.	Mr Withers.
Mr Northton.	Mr Robert Bowles.
Mr Wray.	Mr Wilson.
Mr Sandys.	

The *Journals* only tell us, that on the 5th Day of November the same Committee of Lords, and thirty of the House of Commons, were appointed to wait upon her Majesty, by her own special Command. But no Account is given in these Records, of what was done at the Conference, or what Answer her Majesty gave to this Committee of Parliament. History, however, is not so silent about it; Mr *Cambden* informs us (*d*), that the Queen of Scots was just then delivered of a Son, and that Queen Elizabeth secretly envied her Rival the Honour

(*d*) *Cambden* in *Kennet*, p. 399.

nour of being a Mother before her. Yet did she make no Haste to follow her Example; and this determined the *English* Parliament to solicit *Elizabeth* strongly about Marriage, or to settle the Succession. The *Papists*, on one hand, were big with Hopes to have it settled in the Queen of *Scots*, and her Issue; whilst the *Protestants*, on the other, were much divided about a Successor, some for one Person, some for another; every one foreboding sad and troublesome Times, should the Queen dye before this important Point was established.

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The Persons who pretended to have a Title to the Crown, and had their several Abettors, besides the Queen of *Scots*, were the Countess of *Lenox*, a Daughter of *Margaret* of *England*, by *Archibald Douglass*, Earl of *Angus*, her second Husband. *Catherine* Countess of *Hertford*, the Daughter and Coheir of *Henry Grey*, Marquis of *Dorset*, and *Frances* his Wife, the eldest Daughter and Coheir of *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, by *Mary* the *French* Queen, youngest Daughter to *Henry* the Seventh. These several Claims must make the Nation very uneasy at that Time; since, without settling the Succession, the single Life of the Queen, only, stop'd the Door against many Troubles which might ensue by her Death. For this Reason the Lords now thought proper to join with the Commons in an Address to her Majesty. What the Debates at the Conference were, does not appear in either Journal; but *Cambden* assures us, that the Heats and Clamours were so great, in the Debates of both Houses, about this Affair, that they roundly taxed the Queen with a Disregard to her Country and Posterity. The People were no less warm, on the Occasion, without Doors; some defamed *Cecil* the Secretary, with slanderous Libels, calling him a pernicious Counsellor; whilst others cursed the Queen's Physician, *Dr Huic*, as having dissuaded the Queen from marrying, on Account, and in Pretence of some supernatural Impediment or Defect in her.

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In the House of Lords, the Peers that spoke the most in this Debate were, the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Leicester*; the Duke of *Norfolk* also, but more cautiously, joined the others Opinion, that the Queen ought to be obliged to take a Husband; or that a Successor should be declared by Act of Parliament, even against her Will. But they were forced to make Submission for this, and had their Pardon. However, the whole House came to a Resolution, to draw up an Address to her Majesty, to be deliver'd by their Speaker, the Lord Keeper *Bacon*; which Address, or Petition, at large, is preserved by *Cambden*, with the Queen's Answer to it; and though prolix enough, and full of strange Arguments, yet must they both find Places in these Enquiries.

The Petition of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to her Majesty, upon the two great Matters of Marriage and Succession, deliver'd by the Lord Keeper in Parliament, Nov. 10, 1566.

An Address from
the Lords on that
Subject.

MOST humbly beseecheth your excellent Majesty, your faithful, loving and obedient Subjects, all your Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, assembled in Parliament in your Upper House; to be so much their good Lady and Sovereign, as according to your accustom'd Benignity, to grant a gracious and favourable Hearing to their Petitions and Suits, which with all Humbleness and Obedience, they are come hither to present to your Majesty by my Mouth, in Matters very nearly and dearly touching your most Royal Person, the Imperial Crown of this your Realm, and universal Weal of the same; which Suits, for that they tend to the Surety and Preservation of these three Things, your Person, Crown, and Realm, the dearest Jewel that my Lords have in the Earth; therefore they think themselves, for divers Respects, greatly bound to make these Petitions; as first by their Duty to God, then by their Allegiance to your Highness, and lastly by the Faith they ought to bear to their natural Country. And like as, most gracious So-
vereign,

vereign, by these Bonds they should have been bound to make the like Petition, upon like Occasion, to any Prince that it should have pleased God to have appointed to reign over them ; so they think themselves doubly bound to make the same to your Majesty, considering that besides the Bond beforementioned, they stand also bound so to do, by the great and manifold Benefits they have and do receive daily at your Highness's Hands ; which, shortly to speak, be as great as the Fruits of Peace, common Quiet and Justice can give ; and this with great Care and Charge to yourself. And thus my Lords diversly bound, as your Majesty hath heard, are now to open to your Highness their humble Petitions and Suits, consisting in two Points chiefly ; which not fundrily, or the one without the other, but both jointly they desire your Highness to assent to : The former is, that it would please your Majesty to dispose yourself to marry, where it shall please you, with whom it shall please you, and as soon as it shall please you. The second, that some such Limitation might be made, how the Imperial Crown of this Realm should remain, if God call your Highness without Heir of your Body, (which our Lord defend) so as these Lords and Nobles, and other your Subjects then living, might sufficiently understand to whom they should owe their Allegiance and Duty, due to be done by Subjects ; and that they might, by your Majesty's Licence, and with your Favour, treat and confer together this Parliament-time, for the well doing of this. The former of these two, which is your Marriage, they do in their Hearts most earnestly wish and pray, as a Thing that must needs breed and bring great and singular Comfort to yourself, and unspeakable Joy and Gladness to all true *English* Hearts. But the second carrieth with it such Necessity, that without it they cannot see how the Safety of your Royal Person, the Preservation of your Imperial Crown and Realm, shall be, or can be sufficiently and certainly provided for. Most gracious and sovereign Lady, the lamentable and pitiful State and Condition

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tion, wherein all your Nobles and Counsellors of late were, when it pleased God to lay his heavy Hand upon you, and the Amazedness that most Men of Understanding were by the Fruit of that Sicknes brought into, is one Cause of this their Petition ; the second, the Aptness and Opportunity of the Time, by reason of this Parliament, whereby both such Advice, Consideration and Consent, as is requisite in so great and weighty a Cause, may be better heard and used, than at any other Time, when no Parliament is. The third, for that the assenting and performing of these Petitions, cannot, as they think, but breed great Terror to our Enemies, and therefore must of Necessity bring great Surety to your Person ; and especially by Addition of such Laws, as may be join'd with this Limitation, for a certain and sure observing it, and preserving of your Majesty against all Practices and Chances. The fourth Cause, for that the like (as it is supposed) hath been done by divers of your noble Progenitors, both of old Time and of late Days ; and also by other Princes your Neighbours, of the greatest Estate in *Europe* ; and for that Experience hath taught, that Good hath come of it. The fifth, for that it appeareth by Histories, how that in Times past, Persons inheritable to Crowns being Votaries and Religious, to avoid such Dangers as might have happen'd for Want of Succession to Kingdoms, have left their Vows and Monasteries, and taken themselves to Marriage ; as *Constantia* a Nun, Heir to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, married after fifty Years of Age, to *Henry VI.* Emperor of that Name, and had Issue *Frederick II.* And likewise *Peter* of *Arragon*, being a Monk, married, the better to establish and pacify that Kingdom. Again, *Antoninus Pius* is as much commended, for that not two Days before his Death, he said to his Council, *laeto animo morior, quoniam filium vobis relinquo.* *Pyrrhus* is of all godly Men detested, for saying he would leave his Realm to him that had the sharpest Sword. What but Want of a Successor known, made an End of so great an Empire as *Alexander* the

the Great did leave at his Death? The sixth Cause Queen Elizabeth;
1566. is, for that my Lords do judge, the performing of this will breed such an universal Gladness in the Hearts of all your true and loving Subjects, that likely and probably you shall find them in all Commandments ready and glad to adventure their Goods, Lands and Lives in your Service, according to their bounden Duties; which of Necessity must breed great Surety to your Majesty. The seventh Cause, because the not doing of this, (if God should call your Highness without Heir of your Body, which God grant never be seen, if it be his Will) and yet your Majesty right well knoweth, that Princes and their Offspring, be they never so great, never so strong, never so like to live, be yet mortal, and subject every Day, yea every Hour, to God's Call; my Lords think, this happening, and no Limitation made, cannot, by their Judgments, but be the Occasion of very evident and great Danger and Peril to all Estates and Sorts of Men of this Realm, by the Factions, Seditions, and intestine War, that will grow, for Want of Understanding to whom they should yield Allegiance and Duty; whereby much innocent Blood is most like to be shed, and many of those to lose their Lives, that now would gladly bestow them for your Sake, in your Majesty's Service. The eighth, for that the not performing of this, the other happening, doth leave the Realm without Government, which is the greatest Danger that can happen to any Kingdom; for every Prince is *Anima Legis*, and so reputed in Law, and therefore upon the Death of Princes the Law dies; all the Offices of Justice, whereby the Laws are to be executed, do cease; all Writs and Commandments to call Parties to the Execution of Justice, do hang in Suspense; all Commissions for the Peace, and for the Punishment of Offenders, do determine and lose their Force; whereby it followeth consequently, that Strength and Will must rule, and neither Law nor Reason, during such a Vacation and Inter-Reign; wherein such an Incertainty of Succession is like to last so

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long, as it is to be feared (if God's Mercy be not the greater) that thereby we may become a Prey to Strangers, (which our Lord defend) or at least lose the great Honour and Estimation that long time hath pertained to us. And like as, most gracious Sovereign, my Lords have been moved for the worldly Respect aforesaid, to make their humble Petitions to your Majesty ; so by the Examples, Counsels, yea and Commandments, that they have heard out of the sacred Scriptures, and for Conscience-sake they feel themselves constrain'd, and enforced to do the like. God, your Highness knoweth, by the Course of the Scriptures, hath declared Succession and having of Children to be one of the principal Benedictions in this Life ; and on the contrary, he hath pronounced contrarywise : And therefore *Abraham* pray'd to God for Issue, fearing that *Eliazar*, his Steward, should have been his Heir ; and had Promise that Kings should proceed of his Body. *Hannah*, the Mother of *Samuel*, prayed to God with Tears for Issue : And *Elizabeth*, (whose Name your Majesty beareth) Mother to *John* the Baptist, was joyful when God had blessed her with Fruit, accounting herself thereby to be delivered from Reproach. And as this is a Blessing in private Houses, so is it much more in Kingdoms, as it plainly appeareth in the two Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*. Unto the Kingdom of *Judah*, containing but two Tribes, or thereabouts, God gave lineal Succession by Descent of Kings ; and therefore they continued a long Time. The Kingdom of *Israel*, containing ten Tribes, or thereabouts, often destitute of lawful Heirs, the one half of the People following the one, and the other half following the other, by Wars and Seditions weaken'd, came soon to Ruin, as plainly appeareth by the third and fourth Book of Kings. And again, in the Time of the Judges, because there was no ordinary Succession, the People were oftentimes overcome, and carried into Captivity. Besides, it is plain, by the Scriptures, that godly Governours and Princes (as Fathers of their Countries) have always been careful to avoid
the

the great Evil that might ensue, through Want of Limitation of Succession; therefore *Moses* did enjoin *Jeshua* to be his Successor, and *David* his Son *Solomon*; whereby a Sedition was appeased, begotten by *Adonijah*: Of this there be many Examples. Farther, seeing it may be easily gathered by Experience of all Ages past, that Civil Wars, Effusion of Christian Blood, and consequently Ruins of Kingdoms do follow, where Realms be left without a Certainty of Succession; and your Majesty is also inform'd of the same, and sued unto for Redress: If therefore now no sufficient Remedy should be by your Highness provided, that then it should be a dangerous Burden, before God, to your Majesty, and you were to yield a strict Account to God for the same; considering you are placed, as the Prophet *Ezekiel* saith, *in altissimo Speculo* of this Commonwealth, and see the Sword coming, and provide no Remedy for the Defence of it. Lastly, The Spirit of God pronounceth, by the Mouth of St. *Paul*, to *Timothy*, That *whosoever maketh no due Provision for his Family, is in very great Danger to God-ward*; and also by the Mouth of St. *John*, That *whosoever seeth but one Brother in Necessity, and doth shut up the Bowels of Pity and Compassion from him, hath not the Love of God remaining in him*: Whereby it is plain and manifest, how fearful a Thing it were, if this whole Realm, containing so many Families, were not, in a perilous Case, upon their Suit provided for; or if the Bowels of Mercy should be shut up from so many Thousands, which every Way were like to fall into most extream Misery, if God should call your Highness without Certainty of Succession; which we pray to God may never happen. Most excellent Princess, the Places of Scripture containing the said Threatnings, be set forth with more sharp Words than be here expressed. Thus, most gracious Sovereign, your Lords and Nobles, both Spiritual and Temporal, have, as briefly as they can, first shewed to your Majesty, how diversly they take themselves bound, to make these their humble Petitions unto you; and

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then what their Petitions be ; and after that what Reasons for worldly Respects, and what by the Scriptures, and for Conscience-Sake, have mov'd them thus to do ; which here upon their Knees, according to their bounden Duty, they most humbly and earnestly pray your Majesty to have Consideration of in Time ; and to give them such favourable and comfortable Answer to the same, that some good Effect and Conclusion may grow before the End of the Session of this Parliament, the uttermost Day of their greatest Hope, whereby this Commonwealth, which your Highness found to be *Lateritia*, as *Augustus* did his, and by your great Providence is now come to be *Marmorea*, shall not for Want of performing this, if God shall call your Highness, without Heir of your Body, be in more dangerous Estate and Condition, than ever it was that any Man can remember. True it is, that this Suit is made by my Lords, not without great Hope of good Success, by reason of the Experience that they have had of your bountiful Goodness shewed to them, and the rest of your loving Subjects, divers and sundry Ways, since the Beginning of your Reign ; which they pray God long to continue, to his Honour, with all Felicity.

Her Majesty's Answer.

The Queen's
Answer, 1

Since there can be no duer Debt than a Prince's Word, to keep that unspotted, for my Part, as one that would be loth that the self-same Thing that keepeth Merchants Credit from Craze, should be the Cause that a Prince's Speech should merit Blame, and so their Honour quail ; therefore I will an Answer give, and th's it is : The two Petitions that you presented me (which must doubtless relate to the two severall Parts of one and the same Petition, viz. the Marriage and the Succession, and might not improperly be so called tho' couch'd in one Body, and as the Words also following do in Manner explain it) express'd many Words, which contain'd in Sum these two Things, as of your Care the greatest, my Marriage and my Succession.

Of

Of which two I think the last best to be touch'd, and of the other a silent Thought may serve. For, I thought it had been so desir'd, as none other Trees Blossom should have been minded, or ever any Hope of any Fruit had been denied you. And yet by the Way, if any here doubt, that I am, by Vow or Determination bent never to trade in that Kind of Life, put out that Kind of Heresie; for your Belief is therein awry. For tho' I can think it best for a private Woman, yet I do strive with myself not to think it meet for a Prince; and if I can bend my Liking to your Need, I will not resist such a Mind.

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But, to the last, think not that you had needed this Desire, if I had seen a Time so fit, and it so ripe to be denounced. The Greatness of the Cause, therefore, and Need of your Returns, doth make me say that which I think the Wise may easily guess, that as a short Time, for so long Continuance, ought not to pass by roat, as many tell their Tales; even so, as Cause by Conference with the Learned shall shew me Matter worth the Utterance for your Behoof, so shall I more gladly pursue your Good, after my Days, than with all my Prayers, whilst I live, be Means to linger my living Thread. And thus, much more than I thought, will I add for your Comfort: I have good Record in this Place, that other Means than you mention, have been thought of, perchance for your Good, as much as for my Surety, no less; which, if presently and conveniently could have been executed, it had not been now deferr'd or over-slipped. But I hope I shall die in Quiet with Nunc Dimittis; which cannot be, without I see some Glimpse of your following Surety, after my grav'd Bones.

The House of Lords having received this Answer to their Address, were, seemingly, satisfied; but the Commons were much hotter in the Affair; and, as Camden writes, Dutton, Wentworth and other Members of that House, such as Bell and Monson, great Lawyers, grated hard on the Queen's Royal Prerogative. They maintained, amongst other Points, ' That Kings are bound to appoint a Successor; ' that

Which is not satisfactory, and occasions great Debates.

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‘ that the Affection of the Subject is the most im-
 ‘ pregnable Bulwark and Support of the Prince;
 ‘ but that Princes can gain this Affection no other-
 ‘ wise, than by providing for the Welfare of their
 ‘ Subjects, both whilst after they live and after
 ‘ their Death. And which can by no Means be
 ‘ done, but where ’tis certainly known who shall
 ‘ succeed to the Throne. That the Queen, by
 ‘ not appointing a Successor, did at once provoke
 ‘ the Wrath of God and alienate the Hearts of her
 ‘ People. Whereas, would she possess the Affec-
 ‘ tions of her Subjects, and the Favour of God,
 ‘ and live for ever in the Remembrance of her Peo-
 ‘ ple, she must of Course nominate a Successor.
 ‘ If not, she would be rather a Step-Mother of her
 ‘ Country, or something worse, than the Nursing-
 ‘ Mother thereof; as, being, seemingly, desirous
 ‘ that *England*, which lived as it were in her, should
 ‘ rather expire with than survive or out-last her.
 ‘ That none but timorous Princes, or such as were
 ‘ hated by their People, or faint-hearted Women,
 ‘ did ever stand in Fear of their Successors; nor
 ‘ can that Prince, with any Reason, apprehend
 ‘ Dangers from a Successor, who is fortified and
 ‘ secured by the Love and Duty of his Subjects.’

The Queen
highly re-
sents it;

The Queen being made acquainted with the Bold-
 ness of these Speeches, it gave her no little Concern,
 for the present, tho’ she seemed to overlook it.
 She knew very well the Hazard of naming and ap-
 pointing a Successor, by her own Experience; the
 Secrets of her late Sister’s Bed-Chamber, having
 been brought immediately to her, by those who had
 a Mind to worship the rising Sun. However, the
 Points above-mentioned being still insisted on,
 with much Heat and great Insolence; and the Mem-
 bers so audacious as to back their Pertness with In-
 vectives and Abuses, the Queen was resolved to put
 a Stop to these Proceedings. Accordingly, her Ma-
 jesty commanded thirty Members of the Lower
 House, as is mentioned in the *Journals*, along with
 the Committee of Lords, to make their Appearance
 before her. On their coming to her, she endea-
 voured

voured first to smoothe and qualify their Minds by many obliging Expressions; but, afterwards gave them a smart Reproof, in which, however, she mixed some Sweetness with Majesty. She promised them to manage Things not only with the Care of a Prince, but the Tenderness of a Parent; by which Means she diverted them from their Resolution. And, because the Parliament had offered greater Subsidies than usual, on Condition she would declare a Successor, she utterly refused that extraordinary Supply, and accepted of a much smaller Sum. Abating the Receipt of the fourth Part of the Money so granted; and telling them, after commending their Regard for her, *That Money in her Subjects Purse, was as good as in her own Exchequer.*

This is the Substance of what the Historian writes of this Matter; as, indeed, it is also of what we find in the *Journals* of the Commons, about it: Except that two Inhibitions were sent to that House, by the Queen, expressly forbidding them to proceed in that Affair any farther. This occasioned a Motion to be made, by *Paul Wentworth, Esq;* to

Queen Elizabeth,
1566.
And forbids any
farther Proceed-
ings on that Sub-
ject.

know whether the Queen's Commands and Inhibition were not against the Liberties and Privileges of the House? On which nice Question, the Debates, aforementioned, were grounded. Many Arguments ensued upon this; and the Debate lasted from Nine in the Morning, *November 11th*, till Two in the Afternoon. Next Day the Speaker was again sent for to Court; who reported to the House, 'That he had received a special Command from the Queen, that there should be no farther Talk of that Matter; and if any Person thought himself not satisfied, and had further Reasons, let him come and shew them before the Privy Council.'

But we find that some Time after, *November 25th*, the Speaker, coming again from her Majesty, declared to the House, 'That for the Good-Will she bore to them, she did revoke her two former Commandments; but desired the House to proceed no further in the Matter at that Time.' Which Revocation, says the *Journal*, was taken
by

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by the House most joyfully; with most hearty Prayer and Thanks for the same.—In this Disposition, however, the Queen continued all her Life; she would never suffer an Act of Parliament to be made to settle the Succession; as very well knowing that, after her, it would settle itself, and the Crown devolve, as she afterwards expressed on her Death-Bed, to her Cousin the King of *Scots*.

The Supply was moved in the House of Commons, *October* 17th, by Mr Comptroller *Rogers*, and seconded by Secretary *Cecil*; who declared, 'That it was to defray the Queen's Charges at *Newhaven*, the Navy, and the Munitions against *John O Neyle*, in *Ireland*.'

A Subsidy.

This Bill was sent up to the Lords, on the 17th Day of *December*, read a first Time in the Afternoon of the same Day, and passed that House on the 18th. The Grant was one *Fifteenth*, one *Tenth*, and a *Subsidy*; a Subsidy from the Clergy had been confirmed by Parliament some Days before (i). Part of this Tax, as our learned Author writes, the Queen remitted; as not caring to lie under too high an Obligation to her Parliament, considering she was resolved not to oblige them, either in taking a Husband herself, or declaring a Successor to the Crown.

An Act passed
declaring the Va-
lidity of the Eng-
lish Ordination.

Mr. *Cambden* takes Notice but of one Act that passed this Session, tho' the List in the Lord's *Journals* mention the Titles of thirty-four. Indeed, there are few or none of them historical enough to be taken Notice of, in this Place, except an Act, declaring 'the Election, Consecration, Confirmation and Installment of the Archbishops and Bishops of *England*, to be good and lawful; and that the said Bishops were elected and consecrated duly, and according to the Laws of the Land.' But this Act did not pass the House of Lords unanimously; for on the third Reading of the Bill, *November* 6th, we find that the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmorland*, *Worcester* and *Suffex*; the Viscount *Montague*; the Barons *Morley*, *Dudley*, *Dacre*,

(i) This was 4s. in the Pound, to be paid in three Years,

Dacre, Monteagle, Cromwell and Mordaunt, protested against it. We may suppose that this small Number of Peers was all the Strength the *Papish* Party had then in the House; and that the Bishops were all steady and unanimous in supporting their own Creations. But tho' the *Romanists* were weak amongst the Representatives of the Nation, yet in the Body of it their Power was very strong. In order to subvert the *Protestant* Religion, they struck at the very Fundamentals of that Priesthood, by asserting, boldly, That the Ordination of their Bishops was false and counterfeit; not being able to prove a regular Succession from the Apostolic Times. This Dispute has lasted even down to our own Time: But a famous *French* Priest (*k*), some few Years ago, cleared up that Point, in Behalf of the *English* Clergy; and has set the infamous Story of the *Nag's-Head* Consecration, entirely aside. In *Queen Elizabeth's* Time, however, the Dispute was ended by an Act of Parliament, which not only declared, as above, but by it was enacted, 'That both the present Bishops, and all such as should be hereafter consecrated, were to be deemed truly and lawfully such, any former Law, or Canon, to the contrary, notwithstanding (*l*).'

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Amongst the Acts passed this Session, not mentioned in the printed *Statutes*, the following are most remarkable;

- 'An Act for taking the Benefit of the Clergy from certain felonious Offenders.'
- 'An Act for the Corporation of Merchant-Adventurers, for the discovering of new Trade.'
- 'An Act for the Confirmation of Letters Patents granted to the Merchant-Adventurers of the City of *Bristol*.'
- 'An Act confirming the Queen's Letters Patents concerning the Making of Alum and Coperas, within her Realms and Dominions.'
- 'An Act for the making Salt in the same, &c.'

Other Acts.

In

(*k*) Father *Le Courayer*, Canon of *St. Genevieve* at *Paris*.

(*l*) *Statutes at large*, An. Eliz. Reg. 8. C. 1.

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1566.

In this Session a Bill was brought into the House of Lords, and read twice, 'That no Man killing any Person at, what is called in the *Journals*, ' ^{xx} _{xii} Pricks, or longer Mark, shall forfeit his Goods or Chatels(m).' Which Bill, because it touched the Queen's Prerogative, it was thought convenient to proceed in it no farther, till her Majesty's Pleasure was known therein. But we hear no more of it.

Lastly, an Act for a free and general Pardon, as was in every Parliament of this Reign, was passed.

The Bills being all ready, after a short Adjournment, from the 30th of *December*, to the 2d of *January*; on that Day, the Queen came, by Water, from *Whitehall*, as was her usual Custom, and landed on the Back-Side of the Parliament-Chamber. 'After which, being apparel'd in her Parliament-Robes, with a Caul on her Head, she came forth, and proceeded up and took her Seat; the Marquess of *Northampton*, carrying the Cap of Maintenance, stood on her Right Hand, and the Earl of *Westmorland* the Sword at her Left Hand, with the Heralds and Serjeants at Arms before her; the Queen's Mantle born up on either Side from her Arms, by the Earl of *Leicester*, and the Lord *Hunsdon*, who always stood still by her for the assisting thereof, when she stood up; her Train born by the Lady *Strange*, assisted by the Lord Chamberlain, and Vice-Chamberlain. At the Left Hand of the Queen, and South Side, kneeled the Ladies; and behind the Queen, at the Rail, stood the Lord Keeper on the Right Hand, the Lord Treasurer on the Left Hand, with divers young Lords and Peers eldest Sons.

'Then all being placed, Mr. *Onslow* the Speaker was brought in, between Sir *Francis Knolles* Vice-Chamberlain, and Sir *Ambrose Cave* Chancellor of the Dutchy; and after Reverence done, proceeded down to the Wall, and from thence came up to the Rail, in the Way making three Reverences; and standing there, made other three like Reverences, and then began his Oration, as followeth:

Most

(m) We suppose this was shooting with Bow and Arro w.

Most excellent and virtuous Princess, &c.

Queen Elizabeth.
1566.

‘ **W**HERE I have been elected by the
‘ Knights, Citizens and Burgesſes of this
‘ your Nether Houſe, to be their Mouth, or Speak-
‘ er, and thereunto appointed and allowed by Your
‘ Maſteſty, to ſupply the ſame Room, to the be-
‘ wraying of my Wants; eſpecially, that thereby I
‘ ſhall be forced utterly to diſcover the Barrenneſs of
‘ my Learning before this noble Aſſembly, which
‘ not a little grieveth me, and would gladly be ex-
‘ cuſed, conſidering the true Saying, How there is
‘ no Difference between a wiſe Man and a Fool, if
‘ they may keep Silence; which I require. But,
‘ again, conſidering your Maſteſty’s Clemency, tak-
‘ ing in good Part the Goodwill of the Party for
‘ Want of Ability, which putteth me in Remem-
‘ brance and good Hope, perſuading me that you
‘ will not take your ſaid Clemency from me, con-
‘ trary to your Nature.

The Speaker’s
Oration to the
Queen, at the
Difſolution of
the Parliament.

‘ Again, when I conſider my Office as Speaker,
‘ it is no great Matter, being but a Mouth, to utter
‘ Things appointed me to ſpeak unto you, and not
‘ otherwiſe; which conſiſteth only in ſpeaking, and
‘ not in any other Knowledge; whereby I gather
‘ how it is neceſſary, I ſpeak ſimply and plainly, ac-
‘ cording to the Truth and Truſt repoſed in me.
‘ And thus, conſidering whoſe Mouth I am, which
‘ choſe me to ſpeak for them, being the Knights,
‘ Citizens and Burgeſſes, who were not alſo by the
‘ Commons choſen for their Eloquence, but for
‘ their Wiſdom and Diſcretion; by this Means,
‘ being fit Men to whom the Commons have com-
‘ mitted the Care and Charge of themſelves, Wives
‘ and Children, Lands and Goods; and ſo in their
‘ Behalf to foreſee, and take Order for all Things
‘ neceſſary. Thus they being choſen by the plain
‘ Commons, it is neceſſary they elect a plain Speak-
‘ er, fit for the plain Matter, and therefore well
‘ provided at firſt to have ſuch a one as ſhould uſe
‘ plain Words, and not either ſo fine that they can-
‘ not

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1566.

not be understood, or else so eloquent, that now and then they miss the Cushion.

But now, upon Occasion of beholding your Grace and this noble Assembly, I consider the manifold and great Benefits, which God suddenly hath sent unto this Country; for, although God hath granted the Benefit of Creation and Conservation, with many other Commodities, to other Nations of the World, yet this our Native Country he hath blessed, not only with the like, but also with much more Fruitfulness than any other; of which great and inestimable Benefit of God's Preferment, which appeareth better by the Want that others have of the same, I am occasioned now to speak, the rather to move and stir up our Hearts, to give most hearty Thanks to God for the same.

Now to speak of Government by Succession, Election, Religion or Policy; first, If the Body should want a Head, it were a great Monster; so it is likewise if it have many Heads, as if upon every several Member were a Head. And to speak of one Head; although in the Body be several Members, which be made of Flesh, Bones, Sinews and Joints, yet the one Head thereof governeth wisely the same, which if it should want, we should be worse than wild Beasts, without a Shepherd, and so worthily be called a monstrous Beast.

Again, If the Body should be governed by many Heads, then the same would soon come to Destruction, by reason of the Controversy amongst them, who would never agree, but be destroyed without any Foreign Invasion; therefore God seeth it is needful that the People have a King, and therefore a King is granted them; and so therefore the best Government is to be ruled by one King, and not many, who may maintain and cherish the Good and Godly, and punish the Ungodly and Offenders.

As for Government by Election, in that is great Variance, particularly, Strifes and Part-takings.

ings. As for Examples, amongst the rest, take out one, which is called the Most Holy, as that of the Pope; and weigh how holily and quietly it is done, called indeed holy and quiet, but utterly unholy and unquiet, with great Part-takings and Strifes.

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Now touching Religion. To see the Divine Providence of God, how that many Nations be governed by one Prince; which were impossible, but that God ordereth it so, by whom the Order of Regimen is appointed, and that in his Scriptures; wherefore the Subjects ought to obey the same, yea although they were evil, and much more those that be good. So God hath here appointed us not a Heathen, or unbelieving Prince, as he might, but a faithful, and one of his own Children, to govern us his Children: In which Government the Prince serveth God two Ways; as a Man, and as a King. In that he is a Man, he ought to live and serve God, as one of his good Creatures; and that he is a King, and so God's special Creature, he ought to make Laws whereby God may be truly worshipped, and that his Subjects might do no Injury one to another, and especially to make Quietness amongst the Ministers of the Church; to extinguish and put away all hurtful and unprofitable Ceremonies, in any Case contrary to God's Word: In which Point, we have, in your Majesty's Behalf, great Thanks to give unto God, in setting forth unto us the Liberty of God's Word, whereof before we were bereaved, and that you have reformed the State of the corrupt Church, now drawing Souls out of dangerous Errors, which afore by that Corruption they were led and brought unto.

And concerning Policy, God hath committed to your Highness two Swords; the one of which may be called the Sword of War, to punish outward Enemies withal; and the other the Sword of Justice, to correct offending Subjects. In which Point of Policy, Your Majesty is not behind your Progenitors; for although, at your Entrance,
you

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‘ you found this Realm in War, and ungarnished
‘ with Munition, and that with such Store as never
‘ was before ; yet you have dislodged our antient
‘ Enemies which were planted and placed even
‘ upon the Walls of this Realm. And concerning
‘ Policy in Laws, as Bones, Sinews and Joints be
‘ the Force of a natural Body, so are good Laws
‘ the Strength of a Commonwealth : And your
‘ Laws be consisting of two Points, the Common
‘ Laws, and the Statutes.

‘ And for the Common Law, it is so grounded on
‘ God’s Laws and Nature’s, that three severall Nati-
‘ ons governing here have all allowed the same ;
‘ which is not inferior, but rather superior, and more
‘ indifferent than any other Law. For, by our
‘ Common Law, although there be for the Prince
‘ provided many Princely Prerogatives and Royal-
‘ ties ; yet it is not such, as the Prince can take
‘ Money, or other Things, or do as he will, at his
‘ own Pleasure, without Order : But quietly to
‘ suffer his Subjects to enjoy their own, without
‘ wrongful Oppression, wherein other Princes by
‘ their Liberty do take as pleaseth them.

‘ *Aristotle* saith, That the Life of the Prince is
‘ the Maintenance of the Laws, and that it is better
‘ to be governed by a good Prince, than by good
‘ Laws ; and so your Majesty, as a good Prince,
‘ is not given to Tyranny, contrary to your Laws ;
‘ but have and do pardon divers of your Subjects
‘ offending against the Laws. As now for Ex-
‘ ample of your special Grace, you have granted a
‘ general Pardon, either without our Seeking, or
‘ Looking for ; whereby it is the better welcom.
‘ Again, Your Majesty hath not attempted to make
‘ Laws contrary to Order, but orderly have called
‘ this Parliament, who perceived certain Wants,
‘ and thereunto have put their helping Hand. And
‘ for Help of evil Manners, good Laws are brought
‘ forth ; of the which we beseech your Excellent
‘ Majesty, so many as you shall allow, to inspire
‘ with the Breath of your Majesty’s Power ; where-
‘ by

whereby they may be quickened, which now want
 ' Life, and so be made Laws. Queen Elizabeth;
1566.

' Furthermore concerning Payments to be made
 ' to the Prince, it is as to deliver the same to God's
 ' Ministers, who are appointed always for our De-
 ' fence; wherefore your humble Subjects do offer
 ' a Subsidy, to be put into your Majesty's Treasure;
 ' which, although it be but as a Mite, or a Farthing,
 ' yet is the good Will of them to be reputed as the
 ' poor Widow's was in the Gospel; wherein I must
 ' not omit to do that which never Speaker did be-
 ' fore *viz.* to desire your Majesty not to regard this
 ' simple Offer of ours, but therein to accept our
 ' good Will, wherein your Highness hath prevented
 ' me in taking in the best Part our good Will; and
 ' required us to retain in our Hands Part of our
 ' Gift, and accounting it to be in our Purses as in
 ' your own; and so is our Duty, besides the Policy
 ' thereof, it being for our own Defence: And also
 ' Honesty, for that we have received many Bene-
 ' fits by your Majesty; for he that doth a good
 ' Turn, deserveth the Praise, and not he which af-
 ' terwards goeth about to reward, or doth reward
 ' the same. Also giving most hearty Thanks to
 ' God, for that your Highness hath signified your
 ' Pleasure of your Inclination to Marriage; which
 ' afore you were not given unto, which is done for
 ' our Safeguard; that when God shall call you, you
 ' shall leave of your own Body to succeed you,
 ' which was the greatest Promise that God made
 ' to *David*, and the greatest Request that *Abraham*
 ' desired of God, when God promised him exceed-
 ' ing great Reward: Who said, *Lord, what wilt*
 ' *thou give me, when I go childless, and he that is the*
 ' *Steward of mine House, is mine Heir?* Therefore
 ' God grant us, that, as your Majesty hath defen-
 ' ded the Faith of *Abraham*, you may have the like
 ' Desire of Issue with you. And for that Purpose,
 ' that you would shortly embrace the holy State of
 ' Matrimony, to have one, when and with whom
 ' God shall appoint, and best like your Majesty; and
 ' so the Issue of your own Body, by your Example,

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‘ rule over our Posterity ; and that we may obtain this, let us give our most humble Thanks to
‘ God for his manifold Benefits bestowed upon us,
‘ And pray for the Reign of your Majesty’s Issue,
‘ after your long-desired Government.’

Then the Lord Keeper (after the Queen had called him, and told him her Mind) answered to Mr. Speaker, and said,

Mr. Speaker,

The Lord Keeper’s Answer.

‘ **T**HE Queen hath heard and understood your wife and eloquent Oration, whereby principally I gather four Things ; First, disabling yourself. Secondly, concerning Governance. The Third, touching the Subsidy. And, lastly, in giving Thanks ; which also was intermingled very wisely in all Parts of your Oration.

‘ And for the first, In disabling yourself, you have therein contrarily bewrayed your own Ableness.

‘ For the Second, concerning Governance, as well by Succession as Election, of Religion and Policy, in which Discourse you have dealt well, I therefore leave it, and mean to speak only a few Words, as to your last Word, Policy.

‘ Politick Orders be Rules of all good Acts, and touching those that you have made to the Overthrowing of good Laws, they deserve Reproof as well as the others deserve Praise ; in which like Case you err, in bringing her Majesty’s Prerogative in Question, and for that Thing, wherein she meant not to hurt any of your Liberties. And again, the Grant of her Letters Patents in Question is not a little Marvel, for that therein you find fault ; which is now no new-devised Thing, but such as afore this Time hath been used and put in Practice ; howbeit, her Majesty’s Nature is mild and full of Clemency ; so that she is loth herein to be austere ; and therefore, though at this Time she suffer you all to depart quietly unto your Countries for your Amendment, yet as it is need-
‘ ful,

ful, so she hopeth that the Offenders will here-
after use themselves well.

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Again, touching the good Laws, which you have taken great Pains in making ; if they be not executed, they be not only as Rods without Hands to execute them, or as Torches without Light, but also breed great Contempt : Therefore look well to the Execution ; for, if it be not done, the Fault is in some of us, which she putteth orderly in Trust to see it done.

For the third Point, concerning the Presentment of the Subsidy, her Majesty biddeth me say, That when the Lords Spiritual and Temporal granted it unto her, so she trusteth you will be as careful in gathering of it ; which I, and others be Witness, how very unwilling and loth she was to take, but to avoid further Inconvenience.

And lastly, concerning Knowledge of Benefits, and giving of Thanks, which you have well declared be many, yet one in Comparison above all, yea, a Fruit above all other, and whereby you may enjoy all the other, which is her Marriage ; whereof she hath put you in good Hope.

Further, I have to put you in Remembrance of three Things ; the first is, that where now you acknowledge Benefits, and as you have Cause to give Thanks ; so secondly, that you be not unmindful hereafter to do the like ; and thirdly, that in all your Doings hereafter, you show yourselves, that all these Benefits be had in Remembrance, and not forgotten ; for that it should be a Thing against Reason in human Creatures ; especially therefore now it behoveth you all, as you have acknowledged Benefits, and for them given Thanks in the first Point, so that you see the other two observed. And then her Majesty will not fail likewise thankfully to accept the same.

Then the Queen standing up, said (after she had given her Royal Assent unto nineteen publick Acts, and thirteen private)

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The Queen's
Speech to both
Houses.

My Lords, and others the Commons of this Assembly,

Although the Lord Keeper hath, according to Order, very well answered in my Name, yet as a Periphrasis I have a few Words further, to speak unto you : Notwithstanding I have not been used, nor love to do it, in such open Assemblies ; yet now, not to the End to amend his Talk, but remembering that commonly Princes own Words be better printed in the Hearers Memory, than those spoken by their Command ; I mean to say thus much unto you. I have in this Assembly found so much Dissimulation, where I always professed Plainness, that I marvel thereat ; yea two Faces under one Hood, and the Body rotten, being covered with two Vizors, Succession and Liberty, which they determined must be either presently granted, denied or deferred. In granting whereof, they had their Desires, and denying or deferring thereof (those Things being so plausible, as indeed to all Men they are) they thought to work me that Mischief, which never Foreign Enemy could bring to pass, which is the Hatred of my Commons. But, alas ! they began to pierce the Vessel before the Wine was fined, and began a Thing not foreseeing the End, how by this Means I have seen my Wellwillers from mine Enemies, and can, as me seemeth, very well divide the House into four.

First, the Broachers and Workers thereof, who are in the greatest Fault. Secondly, the Speakers, who, by eloquent Tales, persuaded others, are in the next Degree. Thirdly, the Agreers, who being so light of Credit, that the Eloquence of the Tales so overcame them, that they gave more Credit thereunto, than unto their own Wits. And lastly, those that sat still mute, and meddled not therewith, but rather wondered, disallowing the Matter ; who, in my Opinion, are most to be excused.

But, do you think, that either I am unmindful of your Surety by Succession, wherein is all my Care, considering I know myself to be mortal ? No, I warrant you. Or that I went about to break your Liberties ? No, it was never in my Meaning, but to stay you before you fell into the Ditch. For all Things have their Time.

Time. And although, perhaps, you may have, after Queen Elizabeth.
me, one better learned, or wiser; yet I assure you, 1566.
none more careful over you: And therefore, hence-
forth, whether I live to see the like Assembly or no, or
however it be, yet beware, however, you prove your
Princes Patience, as you have now done mine. And,
now to conclude, all this notwithstanding (not meaning
to make a Lent of Christmas) the most Part of you may
assure yourselves, that you depart in your Princes Grace.

This Speech being ended, the Lord Keeper, by The Parliament dissolved.
her Majesty's Command, dissolved this Parliament.

We shall not descant on the Manner this Mag-
nanimous Queen treated her Parliaments; more In-
stances of which will appear in the Sequel. But,
we have now a space of Five Years before we meet
with another; during which Time, the unfortunate
Queen of Scots had been driven out of her Kingdom,
by her Rebellious Subjects, and forced to seek Pro-
tection from her near Kinswoman and Sister
Queen, *Elizabeth*. In this Interval, also, a dangerous A Rebellion in the North.
Insurrection, or Rebellion, had happened in the North
of *England*; headed by the Earls of *Northumber-*
land and *Westmoreland*. It grew to some Height
in a very small Time; but was soon suppressed by
the Earl of *Suffex*, who the Queen sent against them.
The two Earls and the Chief of their Followers
were first convicted of High Treason, and outlawed,
and afterwards attainted by Parliament. *Northum-*
berland lost his Head on a Scaffold at *York*, *Westmor-*
land died a banished Man abroad; and many Exe-
cutions were acted on the rest, in different Parts of
the Kingdom.

Those Insurrections happened in the Years 1569 A Parliament called, after an Interval of five Years, at Westminster, Anno Regni 13, 1571.
and 1570; and the next Year, a Parliament was
called to meet at *Westminster*, on the 2d Day of *A-*
pril, in the thirteenth of this Reign.

The initial Ceremonies and Speeches of this Parli-
ament are wholly omitted in both the *Journals*;
but Sir *Simonds D'Ewes* hath supplied them from a
Manuscript-Journal, then in his Possession, and taken
by some Member of the House of Commons in that

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1571.

Parliament. We are persuaded the Reader will excuse the Formality, if we give it, at length, in his own Words. The Procession to the House of Lords is somewhat extraordinary, and carries more Pomp and Ceremony with it than those of the present Times.

‘ On *Monday* the 2d Day of *April*, the Parliament beginning, (according to the Writs of Summons sent forth) her Majesty, about eleven of the Clock, came towards *Westminster*, in the ancient accustomed most honourable Passage, having first riding before her the Gentlemen sworn to attend her Person, the Batchelors Knights, after them the Knights of the *Bath*, then the Barons of the Exchequer, and Judges of either Bench, with the Master of the Rolls, her Majesty’s Attorney-General, and Solicitor-General; after whom followed in Order, the Bishops, and after them the Earls, then the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

‘ The Hat of Maintenance was carried by the Marquess of *Northampton*, and the Sword by the Earl of *Sussex*. The Place of the Lord Steward, for that Day, was supplied by the Lord *Clinton*, Lord Admiral of *England*; the Lord Great Chamberlain was the Earl of *Oxford*. And the Earl Marshal, by Deputation from the Duke of *Norfolk*, was the Earl of *Worcester*.

‘ Her Majesty sat in her Coach, in her Imperial Robes, and a Wreath or Coronet of Gold, set with rich Pearls and Stones, over her Head; her Coach drawn by two Palfries, covered with Crimson Velvet, drawn out, imbossed and imbroidered very richly. Next after her Chariot followed the Earl of *Leicester*, in respect of his Office of the Master of the Horse, leading her Majesty’s Spare Horse. And then forty-seven Ladies and Women of Honour; the Guard in their rich Coats going on every Side of them; the Trumpeters before the first, sounding; and the Heralds riding, and keeping their Rooms and Places orderly. In *Westminster* Church the Bishop of *Lincoln* preached before her Majesty, whose Sermon being done, her Majesty came from the Church,
the

the Lords all on Foot, in Order as afore ; and over her Head a rich Canopy was carried all the Way. She being entered into the Upper House of Parliament, and there sat in princely and seemly Sort, under a high and rich Cloth of Estate ; her Robe was supported by the Earl of *Oxford*, the Earl of *Sussex* kneeling, holding the Sword on the left Hand, and the Earl of *Huntingdon* holding the Hat of Estate, and the Lords all in their Places on each Side of the Chamber ; that is to say, The Lords Spiritual on the Right Hand, and the Lords Temporal on the Left. The Judges and her learned Council, being at the Woofsacks in the Midst of the Chamber, and at her Highness's Feet, at each Side of her kneeling one of the Grooms, or Gentlemen of the Chamber, their Faces towards her ; the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses all standing below the Bar, her Majesty then stood up in her Regal Seat, and with a princely Grace and singular good Countenance, after a long Stay, spake a few words to this Effect :

‘ My right loving Lords, and you our right faithful and obedient Subjects,

WE in the Name of God, for his Service, and for the Safety of this State, are now here assembled, to his Glory, I hope, and pray that it may be to your Comfort, and the common Quiet of our, yours, and all ours for ever.

The Queen's Speech, at opening the Parliament.

‘ And then looking on the Right Side of her, towards Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, standing a little beside the Cloth of Estate, and somewhat back and lower from the same, she willed him to shew the Cause of the Parliament, who thereupon spake as followeth :

‘ **T**HE Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, our most dread and gracious Sovereign, hath commanded me to declare unto you, the Causes of your calling and assembling at this Time, which I mean to do as briefly as I can, led thereunto as one very loth to be tedious to her Majesty, and also

The Lord Keeper's.

‘ be-

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‘ because to wise Men, and well-disposed (as I judge
‘ you be) a few Words do suffice. The Causes be
‘ chiefly two, the one to establish or dissolve Laws,
‘ as best shall serve for the Governanc of the
‘ Realm. The other, so to consider of the Crown
‘ and State, as it may be best preserved in Time of
‘ Peace, and best defended in the Time of War,
‘ according to the Honour due unto it. And be-
‘ cause in all Councils and Conferences, first and
‘ chiefly there should be sought the Advancement of
‘ God’s Honour and Glory, as the sure and infal-
‘ lible Foundation, whereupon the Policy of every
‘ good publick Weal is to be erected and built; and
‘ as the streight Line, whereby it is principally to be
‘ directed and governed, and as the chief Pillar and
‘ Buttress, wherewith it is continually to be sustain-
‘ ed and maintained; therefore, for the well-per-
‘ forming of the former touching Laws, you are to
‘ consider, first, Whether the Ecclesiastical Laws
‘ concerning the Discipline of the Church, be suf-
‘ ficient or no? and if any Want shall be found,
‘ to supply the same; and thereof the greatest Care
‘ ought to depend upon my Lords the Bishops, to
‘ whom the Execution thereof especially pertains,
‘ and to whom the Imperfections of the same be
‘ best known.

‘ And as to the Temporal Laws, you are to ex-
‘ amine, whether any of them, already made, be
‘ too sharp or too sore, or over burthenous to the
‘ Subject; or whether any of them be too loose or
‘ too soft, and so over perillous to the State. For
‘ like as the former may put in Danger many an
‘ Innocent, without Cause, particularly; so the se-
‘ cond may put in Peril both the Nocent and In-
‘ nocent, and the whole State universally. You
‘ are also to examine the Want and Superfluity of
‘ Laws: You are to look whether there be too ma-
‘ ny Laws for any Thing, which breedeth so many
‘ Doubts, that the Subject sometimes is to seek how
‘ to observe them, and the Councillor how to give
‘ Advice concerning them,

‘ Now

‘ Now the second, which concerns a sufficient Pro-
 vision for the Crown and State ; herein you are
 to call to Remembrance how the Crown of this
 Realm hath been many Ways charged extraordi-
 narily of late ; not possibly to be born by the ordi-
 nary Revenues of the same, and therefore of Ne-
 cessity to be relieved otherwise as heretofore it hath
 commonly and necessarily been. For, like as the
 ordinary Charge hath been always born by ordi-
 nary Revenues, so the extraordinary Charge hath
 always been sustained by an extraordinary Relief.
 This to those that be of Understanding is known,
 not only to be proper to Kingdoms and Empires,
 but also is, hath been, and ever will be, a necessary
 Peculiar partaining to all Commonwealths, and
 private States of Men, from the highest to the
 lowest ; the Rules of Reason hath ordained it so to
 be.

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‘ But, here I rest greatly perplexed, whether I
 ought to open and remember unto you, such Rea-
 sons as may be easily produced, to move you
 thankfully and readily to grant this extraordinary
 Relief or no : I know the Queen’s Majesty conceiveth
 so great Hope of your prudent Foreseeing
 what is to be done, and of your good Wills and
 Readiness to perform that, which by Prudence you
 foresee, that few or no Persuasions at all are need-
 ful for the bringing this to pass. Nevertheless,
 because by the antient Order heretofore used, it is
 my Office and Duty somewhat to say in this
 Case, and likewise all Men also that be present,
 neither understand alike, nor remember alike :
 Therefore I mean, with your Favour and Pati-
 ence, to trouble you with a few Words, touching
 this Point. True it is, that there be two Things
 that ought vehemently to move us, frankly, boun-
 tifully, and readily to deal in this Matter. The
 former is the great Benefits that we have receiv-
 ed : The second is the Necessity of the Cause. If
 we should forget the former, we are to be char-
 ged as most ungrate and unthankful ; and the For-
 getfulness of the second doth charge us, as un-
 careful

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careful of our own Livings and Liberties, and of our Lives ; the former moveth by Reason, and the second urgeth by Necessity. And here, to begin with the former, albeit that the Benefits that the Realm hath received by God's Grace, and the Queen's Majesty's Goodness, both for the Number and Greatness, are such as may be more easily marvelled at, than worthily weighed and considered : Yet mean I to remember briefly three of them, whereof the first and chief is restoring and setting at Liberty God's holy Word amongst us ; the greatest and most precious Treasure that can be in this World : For that either doth, or should benefit us in the best Degree ; to wit, our Minds and Souls ; and look how much our Souls excel our Bodies, so much must needs the Benefits of our Souls excel the Benefits of our Bodies ; whereby also, as by a necessary Consequent, we are delivered, and made free from the Bondage of the Roman Tyranny ; therefore this is to be thought of us the most principal Benefit.

' The second is the inestimable Benefit of Peace during the Time of ten whole Years together, and more ; and what is Peace ? Is it not the richest and most wished for Ornament that pertains to any publick Weal ? Is not Peace the Mark and End that all good Governments direct their Actions unto ? Nay, is there any Benefit, be it never so great, that a Man may take the whole Commodity of, without the Benefit of Peace ? Is there any so little Commodity, but through Peace a Man may have the full Fruition of it ? By this we generally and joyfully possess all ; and without this generally and joyfully we possess nothing. A Man that would sufficiently consider all the Commodities of Peace, ought to call to Remembrance all the Miseries of War ; for in Reason it seems as great a Benefit in being delivered of the one, as in the possessing of the other. Yet if there were nothing, the common and lamentable Calamities and Miseries of our Neighbours round about us, for Want of Peace, may give us to under-
' der-

derstand what Blessedness we be in that possess it. *Queen Elizabeth.*
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There be that never acknowledge Benefits to their Value, whilst they possess them, but when they are taken from them, and so find their Want; Marry, such be not worthy of them. Now is it possible, trow you, that this blessed Benefit of Peace could have been from Time to Time thus long conserved and conferred upon us, had not the Mind, Affection and Love, that our Sovereign bears towards us her Subjects, bred such Care over us in her Breast, as for the well-bringing of this to pass, she hath forborn no Care of Mind, no Travel of Body, nor Expence of her Treasure, nor Sale of her Lands; no Adventuring of her Credit, either at Home or Abroad? a plain and manifest Argument, how dear and precious the Safety and Quiet of us her Subjects be to her Majesty. And can there be a greater Persuasion to move us to our Power to tender the like?

The third is the great Benefit of Clemency and Mercy. I pray you, hath it been seen or read, that any Prince of this Realm, during whole ten Years Reign, and more, hath had his Hands so clean from Blood? If no Offence were, her Majesty's Wisdom in Governing was the more to be wondered at; and if Offences were, then her Majesty's Clemency and Mercy the more to be commended. *Misericordia ejus super omnia opera ejus.* Besides, like as it hath pleased God ten Years and more, by the Ministry of our said Sovereign, to bless this Realm with those two inestimable Benefits of Peace and Clemency, so there is no Cause but the same might by God's Grace have continued twenty Years longer, without Intermission, had not the raging Romanist Rebels entertained the Matter. And here it is to be noted, that this merciful and peaceful Reign of ten Years and more, hath happened in the Time of Christ's Religion now established. I cannot think that any Man can follow me in this, in the Time of the Romish Religion since the Conquest. Nay, a Man might affirm, that this is an Example for
Times

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‘ Times to come, without any like in Times past ;
‘ comparing *Singula singulis*, what should I say ?
‘ these be the true Fruits of true Religion. I could
‘ further remember you of the Fruits of Justice, the
‘ Benefit of restoring your Money to Fineness ; yea,
‘ I could put you in Mind, but I think it needs not,
‘ it happened so late, of a Subsidy granted, where-
‘ of the Queen’s Majesty of her own Bountifulness,
‘ remitted the one half ; was the like here in *Eng-
‘ land* ever seen or heard of ? But being out of
‘ Doubt, that these Benefits already remembred be
‘ sufficient of themselves to move you to be thank-
‘ ful to your Power, I leave any longer to detain
‘ you in this Point.

‘ And albeit a Subject cannot yield any Benefit
‘ to his Sovereign in the same Nature that he re-
‘ ceiveth it ; because every Benefit is more than
‘ Duty, and more than Duty a Subject cannot
‘ yield to his Sovereign : Yet can it not be denied,
‘ but a Subject’s acknowledging of Benefits received,
‘ joined with Good-Will to yield as far as Liberty
‘ will reach, doth sufficiently satisfy for the Subject,
‘ for *ultra posse non est esse*. To your best Actions
‘ therefore address ye. And thus much concerning
‘ Benefits.

‘ Now to the second Part, concerning urging by
‘ Necessity, true it is, that the extraordinary Mat-
‘ ters of Charge, happened since the last Assembly
‘ here, urging to have by Necessity a Relief granted,
‘ amongst many others be these. First, The great
‘ Charge in suppressing the late Northern Rebellion,
‘ with Charges also in reducing those the Queen’s
‘ Majesty’s Enemies in *Scotland*, that assisted the
‘ Rebels, and made Roads into *England*. The con-
‘ tinual growing Expences, by Reason of *Ireland*,
‘ as in subduing the Rebels within that Realm, and
‘ and withstanding the *Scots* Northward, and other
‘ Foreign Forces, intending Invasion Southward.
‘ To these three Charges by Land, you may add a
‘ fourth by Sea ; as the Preparation and setting forth
‘ of Ships, partly for the Defence against all foreign
‘ Forces, suspected and intended, partly for the
‘ safe

' safe conducting of the Wares and Merchandizes
 ' in greater Strength and longer Cut than hereto-
 ' fore hath been used. These and such like extra-
 ' ordinary Charges, whereof there be sundry, with
 ' the Remains of old Charges not possible to be born
 ' by the ordinary Revenue, and yet of Necessity to
 ' be expended, do greatly exceed any extraordinary
 ' Aid therefore commonly granted. Again, the
 ' great Decay of the Queen's Majesty's Customs,
 ' by reason of Stay and Alteration of Traffick (albeit
 ' upon just Occasion) hath bred no small Want ;
 ' for although in Time it is not to be doubted, but
 ' that will grow again to his old Course, and conti-
 ' nue with great Surety : Yet, in the mean Time,
 ' this Want must some Way be supplied ; for you
 ' know the Horse must be provided for, whilst the
 ' Grass is in growing. At the least, let us do so
 ' much for ourselves, as we do for our Horses.
 ' For ourselves it is that are to be relieved in this
 ' Case. This I must needs say, that if the Queen's
 ' Majesty did use in Matters of Expence, to do as
 ' commonly Princes heretofore have used to do,
 ' then with the more Difficulty might such extra-
 ' ordinary Aid be assented unto, and yet of Necessi-
 ' ty to be had, to withstand a greater Necessity. It
 ' hath been used in Times past, that Princes Plea-
 ' sures and Delights have been commonly followed
 ' in Matters of Charge, as Things of Necessity.
 ' And now, because, God be praised, the relieving
 ' of the Realm's Necessity is become the Princes
 ' Pleasure and Delight, a noble Conversion (God
 ' continue it, and make us, as we ought to be ear-
 ' nestly thankful for it !) a princely Example shew-
 ' ed by a Sovereign for Subjects to follow. To de-
 ' scend in some Particulars. What need I to re-
 ' member unto you, how the gorgeous, sumptuous,
 ' superfluous Buildings of Time past be for the
 ' Realm's Good, by her Majesty in this Time tur-
 ' ned into necessary Buildings, and Upholdings ?
 ' The chargeable, glittering, glorious Triumphs, in-
 ' to delectable Pastimes and Shows ? Embassadors
 ' of Charge into such as be void of Excess, and yet
 ' honourable

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‘ honourable and comely ? These and such like are
‘ dangerous Dams, able to dry up the flowing
‘ Fountains of any Treasure ; and yet these Im-
‘ perfections have been commonly Princes Pecū-
‘ liars, especially young. One free from these was
‘ accounted *Rara avis, &c.* and yet (God be thank-
‘ ed) a *Phœnix*, a blessed Bird of this Kind God
‘ hath blessed us with. I think it may be affirmed,
‘ and that truly, that there hath not been any Mat-
‘ ter of great Charge taken in Hand by her Ma-
‘ jesty in this happy Reign of twelve Years and
‘ more, that hath not been thought before conveni-
‘ ent to be done for the Weal and Profit of the
‘ Realm ; so far her Highness is from spending of
‘ Treasure in vain Matters, and therefore the rather
‘ how can a Man make any Difficulty to contribute
‘ according to his Power ? especially, in maintaining
‘ of his Sovereign, his Country, his self, his Wife and
‘ Children, and what not ? having so long a Proof
‘ by Experience, of such an Employment ? Here
‘ I would put you in mind of extraordinary Charges
‘ to come, which in Reason seems evident, but so
‘ I should be over tedious unto you, and *frustra fit*
‘ *per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora.* And there-
‘ fore here I make an End, doubting that I have tar-
‘ ried you longer than I promised or meant, or per-
‘ chance needed, your Wisdoms and good Inclinati-
‘ ons considered. But you know Things are to be
‘ done both in Form and Matter ; and my Trust
‘ is, that if I had stayed, I may be warranted by
‘ either, or by both, that you will take it in good
‘ Part.’

Christopher Wray
Esq; elected
Speaker.

Next come the Names of the Receivers and Try-
ers of Petitions, in *French*, according to ancient Cus-
tom. The *Journalist* proceeds then to tell us, that,
on the 4th Day of *April*, the Commons presented
Christopher Wray, Esq; Serjeant at Law, as their
Speaker ; whose Excuse not being allowed, he made
an Oration in Substance as follows :

‘ First,

First he said, ' He desired to be heard to say Queen Elizabeth.
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' somewhat concerning the orderly Government
' of a Commonweal, which to be duly done, he
' said, there were three Things requisite, Religion, His Speech.
' Authority, and Laws. By Religion he said,
' we do not only know God aright, but also how
' to obey the King or Queen, whom God shall
' assign to reign over us ; and that, not in Tem-
' poral Causes, but in Spiritual or Ecclesiastical ;
' in which wholly her Majesty's Power is absolute.
' And leaving all Proofs of Divinity to the Bishops
' and Fathers, as he said he would, he prov'd the
' same by the Practice of Princes within this Realm,
' and first made Remembrance of *Lucius* the first
' Christian King, who having written to *Elutherius*
' the Pope, 1300 Years past for the Roman
' Laws, he was answered, that he had the Holy
' Scriptures, out of the which he might draw good
' Discretion ; for that he was the Vicar of *Christ*
' over the People of *Britain*. The Conqueror, he
' said, in the Erection of *Battle Abbey*, granted that
' the Church should be free from all Episcopal Ju-
' risdiction.

' *Henry* the Third gave to *Ranulph* Bishop of
' *London*, the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, by
' these Words, *Rex, &c. sciatis quod dedimus di-*
' *lect. nostro Ranulpho Archiepiscop. Cantuarien.*
' *quem instituimus Anulo & Baculo.* The Ring, he
' said, was the Sign of Perfection ; the Staff the
' Sign of Pastoral Rule ; which he could not do,
' if these Kings had not had and used the Ecclesiastical
' Powers. In the Reports of the Law, we
' find that an Excommunication of a certain Person
' came from the Pope under his Leaden Bull ; and
' was shew'd in Abatement of an Action brought at
' the Common Law ; which, besides that it was
' of no Force, the King and Judges were of mind,
' that he who brought it had deserved Death, so to
' presume on any Foreign Authority : Which Au-
' thority being now, by God's Grace and her High-
' ness's means, abolished, and the Freedom of
' Consciences, and the Truth of God's Word esta-
' blished ;

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‘ blished ; we therefore ought greatly to thank God and her.

‘ For Authority, or the Sword, whereby the Commonwealth is stayed, three Things, he said, are requisite ; Men, Armour, and Money. For Men, their good Wills, he said, were most, being of itself a strong Fortres. For Armour, the Necessity he shewed in part ; and how requisite Treasure was, he a little declared. And concluded, that all three must be conjoined, Men, Armour, and Money.

‘ Lastly for Laws, the third Stay of the Commonwealth ; he said there must be Consideration in making them, and Care in executing of them ; in making such, as by the providing for one Part of the Commonwealth, the rest should not be hindred, which were indeed a Matter most pernicious ; and this he vouched out of *Plato de Legibus*. For Execution, he said, that since the Law of itself is but mute, set in Paper, not able to do ought, the Magistrate (except he will be also mute) must be the Doer, and then is a good Law said to be well made, when it is well executed ; for, *Anima Legis est Executio*.

‘ Hereupon he said something in Commendation of her Majesty, who had given free Course to her Laws, not sending or requiring the Stay of Justice, by her Letters or Privy Seals, as heretofore sometimes hath been by her Progenitors used. Neither hath she pardoned any, without the Advice of such, before whom the Offenders have been arraigned, and the Cause heard.

‘ His Oration being ended, he then made four Petitions ; first that the Persons, Servants, and Goods, of all coming to that Assembly, might be free from all Arrests. Secondly, that for Cause of Conference, they might have Access to her Majesty. Thirdly, if any sent should not truly report, or in Part mistake the Meaning of the House, that the same should be by her Highness favourably heard. And lastly, that in the House all Men might have free Speech.’

This

This Oration being ended, by Direction from Queen Elizabeth.
her Majesty, and Instructions given what should be 1571.

said, the Lord Keeper answered thus, dividing his Speech into three Parts; the first, where he had sometimes inserted Commendations of her Majesty, he said, ' Her Highness would not acknowledge so
' great Perfections to be in her; but said, that they The Queen's Answer, by the Lord Keeper.
' should be Instructions for her better Proceedings
' in Time to come. The second Part of his Oration, he said, concerning the Rule for ordering
' of the Commonwealth, she well liked of, and
' wished, that as he had well conceived of it, and
' well uttered the same, so he and others would endeavour the Execution thereof.

' For his Petitions, he said, her Majesty's Pleasure was, ~~that~~ the first should be granted, with
' this Caution, that no Man should under their
' Shadows, untruly protect others. For the second, he said, at Time convenient, her Pleasure
' was, they should come freely. Touching the
' third Part, he said, she could not imagine that
' among so many wise Men it could happen; but
' if it should, her Grace would be content to remit
' it. The fourth was such, that her Majesty having
' Experience of late of some Disorder, and certain Offences, which though they were not punished, yet were they Offences still, and so must
' be accounted; therefore said, they should do
' well to meddle with no Matters of State, but such
' as should be propounded unto them, and to occupy themselves in other Matters, concerning the
' Commonwealth.'

The Speaker's Oration to the Queen, is said, in the *Journals* of the Commons, to be two Hours long; of Consequence, this must have been much abridged.

This last Injunction must sound harsh in the Ears of an *English* House of Commons; who have ever valued themselves on that darling Prerogative, Freedom of Speech. But we leave it to the Reader's own Reflection, and go on to the other most remarkable Proceedings of the Upper House. And, the

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Earls of Northumberland,
Westmorland,
&c. attainted.

first Thing of Note we find the Lords went upon was to bring in a Bill for the Attainder of *Thomas Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*; *Charles Nevile*, Earl of *Westmorland*, and others. The Names of those other Persons attainted, are not in the *Journals*; but *Cambden* (a) has given us several of them; besides the two Earls, there were *Ann*, Countess of *Northumberland*; *Edward Dacres*, of *Morton*, commonly called *Lord Dacres*; *John Nevile*, of *Leversege*; *John Swinborn*, *Thomas Markensfeld*, *Egremond Ratcliff*, Brother to the Earl of *Sussex*; *Christopher Nevile*, *Richard Norton*, of *Norton-Coniers*; *Christopher Marmaduke*, and *Thomas*, of the same Family; *Robert* and *Michael Tempest*, *George Stafford*, and about forty more, all of the best Families in the North of *England*. The Bill of Attainder against these Persons was read, in the House of Lords, a first Time, on the 6th of *April*; passed that House on the 28th; and, being sent down to the Commons, they returned it, concluded, on the 15th of *May* following. By this Act all their Lands and Goods were forfeited to the Queen, and those Possessions within the Bishoprick of *Durham* were adjudged to her and her Successors, against *Pilkinton*, the Bishop, who laid Claim to all Royalties between the Rivers *Tine* and *Tese*. This was done, says our Author, in Regard of the vast Expence the Queen had been at in freeing the Bishop and his Diocese from the Rebels; but with *Proviso* that it should not prejudice the Right of the Church of *Durham* for the future (b).

Bill relating to
Treason.

April the 28th, a Bill was sent up by the Commons to the Lords, whereby certain Offences, there named, were made *Treason*. It passed that House on the 8th Day of *May*, with a new *Proviso*, and certain Amendments added to it. This Act, says *Cambden*, was occasioned by the Iniquity of the Times, and the Love which the Parliament of *England* then bore to their Prince and Country. By it, was provided, according to the Tenour of former Laws, ' That if any Man should attempt the Death
' or

(a) *Cambden in Kennet*, p. 423.

(b) *Ibidem*, p. 436.

' or personal Hurt of the Queen; or raise War, or Queen Elizabeth.
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 ' excite others to War against her; if any one
 ' should give out, that she is not the lawful Queen
 ' of this Realm, but that any other can claim a just-
 ' er Title thereto; or should pronounce her to be
 ' an Heretic, Schismatic, or Infidel; or should u-
 ' surp the Right and Title of the Kingdom during
 ' her Life; or should affirm that any other has a
 ' Right to the Crown; or *that the Laws and Sta-*
 ' *tutes cannot limit and determine the Right of the*
 ' *Crown and the Successor thereof*; every such Per-
 ' son shall be guilty of *High Treason*. That if any
 ' one, during the Queen's Life, should by any Book,
 ' written or printed, expressly maintain, that any
 ' Person is or ought to be, the Queen's Heir and
 ' Successor, except the *natural Issue* of her Body;
 ' or should publish, print or disperse, any Books or
 ' Writings to that Effect, he, and his Abettors, for
 ' the first Offence, should be imprisoned for a
 ' whole Year, and forfeit the half of his Goods;
 ' and, if any should offend a second Time, he should
 ' incur the Penalty of a *Premunire*; that is, the
 ' Loss of all his Goods, and lie in perpetual Imprisonment.'

This Act plainly shews the extream Jealousy,
 more than the Iniquity, of the Times; and that
 there was then some latent Title to the Crown,
 which they could not sufficiently guard against.
 Our Author writes, that it was looked upon as too
 severe, by those who thought that it would tend to
 the Establishment of the Nation's Quiet, to have an
 Heir apparent declared. But adds he, it is incredible
 what Jefts were thrown out on that Part of the Act,
 ' *except the natural Issue of her Body*. Since the
 Lawyers term those Children *natural*; whom Na-
 ture alone, without the Intervention of honest Ma-
 trimony, hath begotten. As those are called *law-*
ful which are born in Wedlock. So that *Cambden*
 himself, being then a young Man, hath often heard
 People say, that this Word was inserted into the Act
 by *Leicester*, with a Design, that, one Time or other,
 he might impose some Bastard Son of his upon the

Queen Elizabeth. 1571. *English Nation for the Queen's natural Issue.* An Infination oddly dropt from the Pen of one, who has taken such great Pains to dress his Heroine in the brightest Robes of Virtue and Honour.

Pope Pius V. ex-communicates the Queen. About this Time Pope Pius V. had thundered out all the *Anathemas* of the *Vatican* against *Elizabeth*; and had the Insolence to publish a Bull of Excommunication against her, which was fixed on the Bishop of *London's* Palace-Gates (c). This Arrogance was taken Notice of by Parliament.

Acts passed thereupon.

Accordingly, we find that a Bill was read a Third Time, and passed the House of Lords, April the 21st, with this Title, *A Bill against bringing in and putting in Execution of Bulls, Writings or Instruments, or other superstitious Things, from the See of Rome.* By it was enacted, 'That whosoever, by Bulls or other Rescripts of the Pope, should reconcile any Man to the Church of *Rome*, and those who should be so reconciled, should be guilty of *High Treason*. That whosoever did relieve such as did so reconcile Men, or should bring into *England* any *Agnus Dei's*, Beads, Crucifixes, or other Things consecrated by the Pope, should incur the Penalty of a *Premunire*. And, that whosoever should not discover such Reconcilers should be guilty of concealing, that is, *Misprision of Treason*.'

Several Persons, concerned in the last Rebellion, having escaped beyond Sea, and others in greater Numbers, having withdrawn themselves on the Score of Religion, a Bill was framed against them in the House of Commons, and sent up to the Lords on the First Day of *May*. The next Day this Bill against Fugitives, over the Seas, was committed to the Marquis of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Huntingdon*, *Sussex*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke* and *Leicester*; the Viscounts *Hereford* and *Montague*; the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Sarum* and *Worcester*; the Lords *Burleigh*, *Wentworth*, *Hastings* and *Buckhurst*. May the 19th, the Bill was concluded in that House, with a new Proviso, and certain Amendments added to it. The Act recalled all such Fugitives, who had gone

(c) See the Form of the Bull, at length, in *Cambden*, p. 427.

gone abroad without the Queen's Leave, within a limited Time, under Forfeiture of their Estates. And, by another Act, passed this Session, all Conveyances, Gifts, Alienations, &c. of their Estates, were termed fraudulent, and set aside. Queen Elizabeth.
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These, and some more Laws of less Significancy, were framed against *Popery*, by this Parliament; nor were they wanting to reform some scandalous Abuses which had crept into the established *Protestant Church*. An Act was made for correcting certain Disorders of the Ministers of the Church. Another against Frauds in defeating Remedies for Dilapidations. Another touching Leases of Benefices and other Ecclesiastical Livings with Cure. This last Act was made, says *Cambden*, to restrain the Covetousness of certain Churchmen; who, as if born for themselves alone, to the notorious Defrauding of their Successors, did waste the Revenues of the Church, and let out Leases for many Years. The first mentioned Act for reforming the Ministers, hath this Title in the printed Statutes, *An Act for the Ministers of the Church to be of sound Religion*. Which was made to restrain certain puritanical Preachers, who opposed the Articles concluded on in a Synod at *London*, in the Year 1562, for abolishing of Schisms.

But now, when the Parliament had done with Religious Matters, it was thought necessary to take some Care of the State. On the 10th of *May* a Bill with a Grant of two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, and a *Subsidy*, was sent up by the Commons. A Subsidy. It was read the first Time, on the next Day, by the Lords, who passed it on the 15th. It is somewhat strange that this Supply is not the least taken Notice of by Mr. *Cambden*. And it is not clear, by him, what it could be for, since the Kingdom was then in profound Peace with its Neighbours; even *Ireland*, which was very troublesome most Part of this Reign, being then in much Subjection. However, another Co-temporary Historian informs us, that this Supply was granted to the Queen, towards the great Charge she had been at, in repressing the late

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Rebellion, in the North; and pursuing the Rebels, which were fled into *Scotland* (d). Great Care was taken that the Queen should not be cheated of any Part of this Grant; for two Bills were passed this Parliament; the one against Frauds of Tellers, Receivers, Collectors and Treasurers of the publick Money; the other, that all such Lands, Goods, Chatels, &c. as any Receiver, Teller, Collector, &c. should have at their entring into their Charge, shall be liable to the Payment of their Debts due to the Crown. The like Act was made for the Collectors of the Subsidies granted by the Clergy; which at this Time was six Shillings in the Pound.

We must now go back to trace what was doing this Parliament in the Commons; in which our *Journalist* is more particular than in any before; but his Account is carefully collated with the more authentic, late printed, *Journals* of the Commons. The House having been called over, and the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy given to each Member, by the Lord Steward of the Queen's Household, they proceeded to the Election of a Speaker; the Ceremony of whose Investiture is given before. April the 5th, the House was again called over; and some Members were commanded to attend the next Day the Order of the House, because they had entered there without being returned by the Clerk of the Crown. The same Day, a Committee was named to confer with the Attorney and Solicitor General, about several Boroughs, who had returned Members in this Parliament, but sent none to the last. The *Journalist* observes, on such a Case, in a prior Parliament, 'That it was very common in former

Case of ancient
decayed Bo-
roughs.

Times, that if any Borough grew into Poverty, or Decay, to avoid the Charges of their Burgesses Allowance, they either got a Licence from the Crown to be discharged from such Election and Attendance, or did, by Degrees, discontinue it themselves. But, in later Times, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons, for the most Part, bearing their own Charges,
: many

(d) *Hollingshead's Chron.* p. 1225.

' many of those Borough Towns, which had discontinued their former Privilege, by not sending, did again begin it ; which was the Case of several Towns, both in this and the succeeding Reign (e).'

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This is the Reason why so many pitiful Boroughs, remarkable now for nothing besides, but their Meanness and Poverty, retain the same Privilege ; and have a Power of being represented equal to the Counties and Cities, and superior to many great Towns in *England*.

The next Thing that we find the Commons went upon, before they meddled with the Secular Laws of the Land was to amend the Spiritual ; for, on the very same Day, as it seems by the *Journalist*, a Motion was made in the House to this Effect :

' Mr. *Strickland*, a grave and ancient Man, of great Zeal, stood up, and made a long Discourse, tending to the Remembrance of God's Goodness, giving unto us the Light of his Word, together with the gracious Disposition of her Majesty, by whom, as by his Instrument, God hath wrought so great Things, and blaming our Slackness and Carelessness, in not esteeming and following the Time and Blessing offered ; but, still as Men not sufficiently instructed what is Truth, or so that we think it not convenient to publish and profess it openly, and that all reproachful Speeches of the Slandrous might be stopped, the Drawbacks brought forward, and the Over-runners, such as over-run and exceed the Rule of the Law, reduced to a Certainty, he thought it *Operis pretium*, to be occupied therein ; for which Purpose he said, the Professors of the Gospel in other Nations had writ, and published to the World, the Confession of their Faith, as did those of *Strasburgh* and *Frankfort*, &c. for which Purpose also great learned Men in this Realm had travelled, as *Peter Martyr*, *Paulus Fagius*, and others, whose Works hereupon were extant.

Debate on the
Abuses in Religion, &c.

' And before this Time an Offer thereof was made, in Parliament, that it might be approved ; but either the Slackness, or somewhat else of some Men

in

(e) D'Ewen's Journals, p. 80 and 156.

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in that Time, was the Lett thereof, or what else, he said, he would not say. This Book, he said, rested in the Custody of Mr *Norton*, as he guessed, a Man neither ill-disposed to Religion; nor a negligent Keeper of such Matters of Charge, and thereupon requested that Mr. *Norton* might be required to produce the same; he added also, that after so many Years, as now by God's Providence we had been learning the Purity of God's Truth, we should not permit, for any Cause of Policy, or other Pretence, any Errors in Matters of Doctrine to continue amongst us. And therefore, said he, although the Book of Common Prayer is (God be praised) drawn very near to the Sincerity of the Truth, yet are there some Things inserted more superstitious, than in so high Matters be tolerable; as, namely, in the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptism, the Sign of the Cross to be made with some Ceremonies, and such other Errors; all which, he said, might well be changed, without Note of chopping or changing of Religion, whereby the Enemies might slander us; it being a Reformation not contrariant, but directly pursuant to our Profession; that is, to have all Things brought to the Purity of the Primitive Church, and Institution of Christ. He spake at large of the Abuses of the Church of *England*, and of the Churchmen; as first, that known Papists are admitted to have Ecclesiastical Government, and great Livings; that godly, honest, and learned Protestants having little or nothing; that Boys are dispensed with to have Spiritual Promotions; that by Friendship with the Master of the Faculties, either unable Men are qualified, or some one Man allowed to have too many several Livings; finally, he concluded with Petition, that by Authority of the House, some convenient Number of them might be assigned, to have Conference with the Lords of the Spirituality, for Consideration and Reformation of the Matters by him remembered.

‘ Mr. *Norton*, a Man wise, bold and eloquent, stood up next, and said, he was not ignorant, but had long since learned what it was to speak on a sudden,

OR

or first, before other Men in Parliament. Yet, being occasioned by Mr. *Strickland*, he said, that Truth it was, he had a Book tending to the same Effect; but (quoth he) the Book was not drawn by those he named, but by virtue of the Act of 1532 (*f*), at the Assignment, or by the Advice of eight Bishops, eight Divines, eight Civilians, and eight Temporal Lawyers, who having in Charge, to make Ecclesiastical Constitutions, took in Hand the same; which was drawn by that learned Man, Doctor *Haddon*, and penned by another learned Man Mr. *Cheeke*; whereupon he said, that Consideration had been, and some Travel bestowed by Mr. *Foxe* of late, and that there was a Book newly printed, to be offered to that House; which he did, then and there, presently shew forth. And for the rest of Mr. *Strickland's* Motions, he was of his Mind, chiefly for the avoiding and suppressing of Simoniackal Ingrossments.

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‘ Whereupon were appointed for that Purpose, for Redress of sundry Defections in those Matters, these following; viz. all the Privy - Council being Members of this House, Sir *Henry Nevill*, Sir *Thomas Thinne*, Sir *Thomas Lucy*, Sir *Henry Gate*, the Master of the Requests; Mr. *Heneage*, Mr. Recorder; Mr. *Bell*, Mr. *Henry Knolles*, sen. Mr. *Mounson*, Mr. *Norton*, Mr. *Strickland*, Mr. *Godier*, Mr. *William More*, and Doctor *Berkley*.

‘ The Bill concerning coming to the Church, and receiving the Communion, was read the second Time, and thereupon Sir *Thomas Smith*, speaking for the Maintenance thereof, argued; and in Part wished the Bishops to have Consideration thereof.

‘ After whom Mr. *Fleetwood* moved, that the Penalty of that Statute should not go to Promoters, and said, it was a Device but of late brought in, in the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth, the first Year of his Reign, and shewed the Evils and Inconveniences that did grow by these Mens Doings; wherein no Reformation was sought, but private Gain to the most of Men. He said also, that Matter of going

(*f*) See before, *Sub Anno*,

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going to the Church, or for the Service of God, did directly appertain to that Court; and that we all have as well learned this Lesson, That there is a God, who is to be served, as to have the Bishops. And thereupon he undertook to prove by the old Laws, vouched from King *Edgar*, that the Princes, in their Parliaments, have made Ecclesiastical Constitutions: As these; That if any Servant shall work upon the Sabbath-Day, by the Commandment of his Master, he should be free; if of himself, he should be whipped; if a Freeman should work, he should be bound, or grievously amerced. Then he concluded upon Request, that it might be committed to some of the House, without the Bishops, who perhaps would be slow.

‘Sir *Owen Hopton* moved, very orderly, that the Presentation of such Defaults should not only depend upon the Relation of the Churchwardens, who being for the most part simple, and mean Men, and fearing to offend, would rather incur Danger of Perjury, than displease some of their Neighbours; he shewed for Proof, Experience.

‘On which Motions, Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Owen Hopton*, Sir *Thomas Scot*, the Master of the Requests; Mr. Serjeant *Manwood*, Mr Serjeant *Geoffrey*, Mr *Fleetwood* and Mr *Sands*, were appointed a Committee, to meet in the Star-Chamber, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon.’

April the 7th, the Bill concerning Religion was read, and the *Journalist* proceeds to tell us, ‘That Mr *Strickland* first moved, that Mr *Norton* might be required to deliver such Books, as he had. Mr *Newdigate* moved, that where one of the Causes for the Calling of the Parliament, and perhaps the chiefest, was for a Subsidy; he thought it not amiss to make Offer of a Subsidy before it should be required, which Speech was not liked of by the House.

‘Sir *Francis Knolles* made a long needless Discourse concerning the Subsidy.

‘Mr. *Bell* said, That a Subsidy was, by every good Subject, to be yielded unto; but for that the People were galled by two Means, it would hardly be levied; namely, by Licences, and the Abuse of Pro-

And on the
Subsidy;

Promoters; for which, if Remedy were provided, then would the Subsidy be paid willingly; which he proved, for that by Licences a few only were enriched, and the Multitude impoverished; and added, that if a Burden should be laid on the Back of the Commons, and no Redress of the common Evils, then there might happily ensue, that they would lay down the Burden in the Midst of the Way, and turn to the contrary of their Duty.

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‘ Mr. *Popham* affirmed Mr. *Bell*’s Speech, and added to the former Abuses, that of the Treasurers of the Crown; who having in their Hands great Masses of Money, with the which either they themselves or some of theirs, do purchase Lands to their own Ute, and after become Bankrupts, and so cause or practise an Installment of their Debts, as of late some one hath installed a Debt of thirty thousand Pounds: Which occasioned the Lack in the Princes Coffers.

‘ Mr. Serjeant *Lovelace* argued, that every Loyal Subject ought to yield to the Relief of the Prince, and that without any Condition or Limitation; notwithstanding, he did not dislike of the former Motions; and thought it very requisite, that these Evils might be provided for, to the Ends aforesaid; unto the which he added three Abuses more; first, the Abuse of Purveyors, wherein he had to desire the Council, and the Masters of the Household to consider it, and to be willing to yield to Reformation; and, in his Opinion, it should not be amiss to take away the Purveyors, and to limit every Country to a proportionable Rate; so should her Majesty be better served, and the Kingdom eased. Secondly, The Reformation of the Exchequer, for the Charge which groweth by Respite of Homage; which he wished might be paid on some other Sort, in a Sum certain. Thirdly, Another Reformation, which is upon a great Abuse in the Exchequer, by sending out, upon every Fine levied, the Writ *Quo titulo ingressus est*.

‘ Mr Comptroller, in few Words, said, that he being one of the Masters of the Household, would do
his

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his Endeavour for Reformation of all Things arising by the Purveyors.

‘ Mr. *Sampoole*, sometimes of *Lincolns-Inn*, liked well of the Motion of the Subsidy, and commended the Motions of the Gentlemen before; affirming, that they were very necessary to be thought of; unto which he was to add one more, *viz.* the Abuse of Collectors. He shewed, that they do retain their Charge sometimes a Year, sometimes more, in their own Hands. And for that they are but mean Men, appointed to that Office, they oft times convert it to their own Uses, and are perhaps never able to satisfie the same; whereby the People are unwilling to pay: For, if they should understand her Majesty should have it presently, they would more willingly pay it; and therefore wished the better Sort of every Country should be assigned to that Charge.

‘ Mr. *Goodier* said, That every Man ought to yield to the Subsidy, and rather offer it than to stay till it should be demanded; desiring, that the Subsidy might be presently, and only go forward, without the Hearing of any more Complaints: For that they might be infinite, and already more were remembered, than in one Parliament could be reformed. Wherein he shewed a great Desire he had to win Favour.

‘ A Committee was appointed to consider of the Proportion and Time of yielding some Relief unto her Majesty; whose Names being set down in the original *Journal-Book* of the House of Commons, are thence transcribed, at large, in Manner and Form following:

‘ All the Privy-Council Members of this House, the Master of the Rolls, Sir *John White*, Sir *William Dormer*, Sir *Christopher Heydon*, Mr. *Heneage*, Sir *Robert Lane*, Sir *Henry Norrice*, Sir *George Blunt*, Sir *Henry Weston*, Sir *George Bowes*, Sir *William Pawlet*, Mr. *Edgecomb*, Mr. *Edward Stanhop*, Mr. *John Merish*, Mr. *Robert Newdigate*, Mr. Serjeant *Levelace*, Mr. *Saintpool*, Mr. *Thomas Snagge*, Mr. *Hall*, Mr. *Hasset*, Mr. *Grafior*, Mr. *Sands*, Mr. *Alford*, Mr. *Basset*, Mr. *Warncomb*, Mr. *George For-*
rers,

rors, Mr. Amse Pawlet, Mr. Hatfield, Mr. Greithfield, Mr. Bounton, Mr. Bellingham, to meet in the Star-Chamber, on *Monday* next, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon.

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April the 9th, A Report was made concerning the Right of the Burgeses; and it was ordered, by Consent of the Attorney General, that the Burgeses shall sit according to their Returns; because the Validity of the Charters of their Towns, ought to be examined in another Place.

On the 10th, the Committee was enlarged on the Religious Bills, in order to go to a Conference with a select Number of Bishops and Peers. The next Day the Bill on fraudulent Gifts and Conveyances, *alias* Monopolies, was taken into Consideration; and being ordered to be engrossed, a Debate arose, in which Mr. Fleetwood argued, 'That there might appear Rashness or Indiscretion in them, who should now reverse what of late they had done; but leaving to speak thereof, he entered into a good Discourse of the Prerogative, which might thereby be touched, if they should endeavour to overthrow her Majesty's Letters Patents, to whom, by Law, there is Power given to incorporate any Town, and she is sworn to preserve her Prerogative: He vouched the Clerk of the Parliament's Book to be, that no Man might talk of the Statute of Wills, &c. but that the King first gave Licence; for that his Prerogative in the Wards was hereby touched. He shewed likewise the Statute of *Ed. 1. Ed. 3. and Hen. 4.* with a Saving of the Prerogative. In King *Edward* the Sixth's Time, Licence was sued for to the Lord Protector, to talk of Matters of Prerogative, he remembered the Book of *2 Ed. 6.* for the Parliament of *Ireland*, called by the Chief Judge, as is for him lawful; where it was questioned, what by Parliament might be done? whether they might depart with any of the King's Towns, Forts or Piers? It was agreed they might not; and so he concluded, that to talk thereof (for as much as her Majesty's Letters Patents, and Prerogative were touched) *Rege non consulto*, was perillous. He also made mention of

Debate relating
to the Prerogative;

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of the Statute, which authorizeth all Merchants to traffick by Sea, *Nisi publice prohibentur* ; he saith, Others were prohibited.

‘ Mr. *Young*, of *Bristol*, in the Behalf of the Commons, reasoned to this Effect ; First, shewed the Loss to the Queen of her Custom, then the private Monopoly wrought and occasioned by the Merchants, the Controversies which have ensued by this Means amongst them, and the subtile Means whereby the Statute was procured, without the Consent of the Major or Commons, by such as were put in Trust.

‘ Mr. *Alford* said, That he might not speak of the Prerogative aptly, for that he was not learned in the Law ; but made some Remembrance of what he had there seen, concerning the Act of Parliament for *Southampton* ; where it appeareth, that without an Act of Parliament, her Majesty’s Letters Patents were not sufficient ; and therefore he prayed convenient Consideration might be, and that the same (if it should so seem good to the House) might be conjoined to the former and other Bills, &c.

‘ Then spake Mr. *Cleere*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Sir *Henry Norris*, and Mr. *Christopher Yelverton*, of *Gray’s-Inn*, severally to the said Bill : Whose Speeches being somewhat imperfectly and uncertainly set down, are therefore omitted ; although from them, and the Residue foregoing, the Effect of this Bill may be collected to have been for the Dissolution of certain Companies of Merchants in *Bristol*, whom her Majesty had incorporated by her Letters Patents, and authorized them to trade to certain Places, by which it was pretended that the publick and free Trading of others was restrained ; and at last upon the Motion of Mr. *Fleetwood*, That the Bill being of great Weight, might be further considered of by the House, and the Committees be appointed at some other Time ; it was thereupon ordered, That they should be appointed on the Day following, which was done accordingly.’

Also on the Bill
for not coming
to Church.

The same Day was read, but not mentioned in the *original Journals*, a Bill for coming to the Service of
the

the Church, which seems to be a Matter of great Moment, by the following Debate about it. Queen Elizabeth.
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‘ Mr. Snagg shewed, at large, the Inconveniences of the old Law, for coming to Service: For, said he, by the former Law it was enacted, That the Service shall not be said, or Sacraments ministered, in other Sort than in the Book of Common-Prayer is prescribed; he shewed, how differently the same was used in many Places, from the prescribed Rule; as where no Part of those Prayers were observed, but a Sermon, and some such other Prayers only as the Minister shall think good, in Place thereof: Whereupon have great Divisions, Discords and Dislikes grown amongst and between great Numbers. And since it is Law, that in this Sort Service shall be used, and that whosoever shall be at any other Form of Service, shall incur the Penalty prescribed, and that the Ministers neither do, nor will do herein, as they should, and as is by the Law prescribed and commanded. He thought the Proceedings, in this Kind, should occasion a *Dilemma* in Mischief: For, by this Law, if he come not, he shall lose Twelvepence; and if he come and be present, and the Service be not said according to the prescribed Rule of the Book, he shall lose a hundred Marks.

Mr. Aglionby, Burgess of the Town of *Warwick*, moved, the Law might be without Exception or Privilege for any Gentleman in their private Oratories. This did he prove to be fit out of *Plato* his Laws, and *Cicero*, both prescribing for the Observation of the Law an Equality between the Prince and the poor Man; not giving Scope to the one above the other. Also he remembered the Authority of *Lactantius Firmianus*, making this only Difference betwixt Man and Beast, that all Men do know and acknowledge that there is a God; and in this Respect there should be no Difference between Man and Man. Withal, he said, the more noble the Man, the more Good his Example may do. He therefore concluded, that for so much of the Law

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Law, so the same might be general, he was of good liking that it should pass. But, for the other Matter, concerning the Receiving of the Communion, he argued, That it was not convenient to inforce Consciences. And, to that Purpose, he shewed the Authority of Doctors ; which he vouched, without quoting the Place or Sentence. He said also, That it was the Opinion of Fathers, and learned Men of this Land ; and therefore wished they might be consulted with. Finally, he concluded, that *Bonæ Leges à malis moribus proveniunt* : But no good Laws can make a bad Man fit to receive that great Mystery of God above. This whole Speech he tempered with such Discretion, as in such Case was seemly. And whatsoever he spake, he spake the same under Correction.

‘ Mr. *Strickland*, standing up, first prayed he might be excused, for that he was to speak on a sudden, and unprovided. For the first, he approved what Mr. *Aglionby* had said : For the Second, he said, he could not be of that Mind ; and he vouched, out of *Esdra*s, that the Church, yea, and the Consciences of Men, were, by the Prophet, restrained ; withal, he said, Conscience might be free, but not to disturb the Common Quiet. He shewed the Practice and Doings of the People, the Banishment of the *Arians*, &c. That the Word of the Prince, for Lack of Law, must not be tied. The *Israelites*, he said, were constrained to eat the Passover. And, finally, he concluded, That it was no Straitning of their Consciences, but a Charge or Loss of their Goods, if they could not vouchsafe to be, as they should be, good Men, and true Christians.

‘ Mr. *Dalton* reasoned to this Effect, That there could ensue no Inconvenience by those two Laws, which were intended to be contrary. His Reason was, except the Service be according to the Law, no Man is bound to stay there ; no more than if he be bound to come and hear Service, and there be no Service, he is to forfeit his Bond.

‘ For

‘ For Answer to Mr. *Aglionby*, he said, The Matters of Conscience did not concern the Law-makers ; neither were they to regard the Error, Curiosity, or Stiffneckedness of the evil, ignorant, or froward Persons. For be it they did proceed orderly to the Discharge of their own Consciences, in making the Law, let them care for the rest whom it behoveth. He was of Mind that Gentlemen should not be excepted, for the Causes aforesaid ; but, he wished Provision might be made for such as be imprisoned, or cannot come for fear of Arrests. He wished also, that the Law might have Continuance but till the End of the next Parliament.’

April the 12th, when the Bill, and the Additions to it, that certain Offences should be made Treason, was read, a Debate arose, in which, Mr. *Goodier*, with some Shew of former Care for that Cause, entered into the Utterance of a long Speech, and spake to this Effect : First, ‘ He made a solemn Protestation of his Sincerity, Truth and Loyalty to her Majesty, to the State, and to the House. Then he shewed many singular and true Blessings, which we have by her Highness’s Means, and religiously prayed for her Preservation ; but, his whole Discourse stood upon these three Points, What he thought of the Persons there assembled ; What he disliked in the Matter of the Bill propounded ; and why he did so.

‘ Of the Persons, he said, he heartily believed the whole Company in Truth and true Meaning to have a Care and hearty Wellwishing for her Majesty’s Safety, acknowledging and reposing in her the very Anchor of our Safety ; but, whether all were with a sincere Meaning to the State of the Crown, he knew not ; but rather thought the clean contrary : But yet of the most and most honourable he thought nothing amiss, but some surely, he said, were doubly disposed, and with a favourable Affection bent for some special Body.

‘ For the Substance of the first Bill, he said, he was of clear Mind, well-liking, and approving the whole Course thereof ; except, quoth he, that the

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same be not already, by former Laws provided for ; and hereunto he further added, that if any Man should say, That the Papists do not err in saying or speaking so slanderously of her Majesty, the same to be taken also as Treason. For the Additions which concerned the first which did clearly respect the Time past, as to make Treason of a Fault already committed, which at the Time of the perpetrating of the same Offence, was not in the same Degree ; it was a Precedent most perilous, which might occasion such and so great Evils, as easily might not be conceived. Of present Time, Man's Wisdom might judge ; future Times Man's Policy may reach to : But to call again the Time past, or to raise what is dead in any Kind, Man may not ; nor, in Reason, is it to be presumed. The like, he said, had not been seen ; and where he hath read thousands of Laws, yet did he never find such a Precedent. An Extremity rare, and never practised, no not in these the greatest Matters of Faith and Religion, that we do now so earnestly treat of.

‘ The Enemy to God and our State (the Papists I mean) is most hateful. Yet is no Man so hardly bent, as to have them punished, much less to suffer Death, for what is past. Whether her Majesty hath pardoned what is past, we do not know, and whether her Highness's Pleasure be that it should be talked of, no Man yet hath made a Report. Withal, it may haply occasion Dislike between her Majesty and the House, which were odious and hateful ; but doubtless, he prophesied it would occasion Peril, such and so great, that the greatest Speakers therein, yea those who should give them most and best Words, could give no Warranties. Neither is it that the Sequel thereof might be warranted for the Right of a Crown, which Words may not be strained or straitned.

‘ Thus much considered, and the Prince being herein not as yet determined, he therefore advised, and more than so by Words of Vehemency urged Stay. He farther said, that the Penning of the first Article of the Additions was clouded and involved
with

with secret Understandings, not to be understood but by such as more curiously could, and more cunning-would, look thereinto than he. For Matters of Title of the Crown, he said, he neither knew any, nor durst to intermeddle or take Knowledge of any; and concluding, he said, that for Obscurity of the Sense, he must needs condemn the same, since that *Veritas est nuda, simplex & plana.*

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‘ Sir Thomas Smith, her Majesty’s principal Secretary, neither condemning nor approving of what had before been spoken by Mr. Goodier, made mention, That the Bill might be divided, lest the one might be the Hindrance of the other.

‘ Mr. Norton, in his accustomed Manner of natural Eloquence, first shewed that the Assembly should be free of Speech, so that the same did not exceed the Bounds of Loyalty; and as in Speech free, so ought it also to be free of unjust Slanders, and undeserved Reproaches. For so much as might concern him, he protested that he neither thought, nor meant any other Title than the sole Preservation of her Majesty; and to this End was heard the whole House (as he supposed) settled and bent; she being of this Realm, not only in respect of our Goods and Lives the singular Stay, but for Truth and Religion, yea of all Christendom not *Magna*, but in all the World *Speciosa*. And since that Consultation is no other than *Consultare in Commune*, he was as well to remove the Surmise of Ambiguity, as the Slander raised of any Doubtfulness in him; the Words, quoth he, are plain, these and no other; that whatsoever Person, during the Life of her Majesty, hath or shall imagine, intend, or go about, the Deposing, &c. them and their Heirs to be barred of any Title.

‘ And, saith he, where Ambition hath once entered, such is the Nature of the same; that never it will be satisfied: And the Thirst for a Kingdom is unquenchable. Withal, in common Experience we see, that between two, for a small Matter in Suit, when it shall pass against the one, though by perfect Trial, yet will he who loseth never acknowledge that he had either offered, or defended an Injury.

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He said, For working of great Matters, great Time is required ; and such a Mischief, as to overthrow a Crown, is not in a Day compassed ; and therefore what hereafter is thought, or meant to be executed, is already begun, compassed and devised. Time must therefore be taken, and therefore in Time, and at all Times, it is to be prevented.

Where it is said, The like hath not been seen, and a Miracle made of it, as if there were never former Precedents ever seen of the like, or ever heard of before. It is no longer since than in Queen *Mary's* Time, when to the Parliament it was suggested, that the Congregations in the City of *London* assembled, did use this Kind of Prayer to God, either to convert her, or confound her. Whereupon it was enacted, That every Person who so, and in such Sort, had prayed, or who so after should pray, should be taken for a Traitor. The Case of *Bennet Smith* is not so strange, nor so long since, but it may be remembered ; his Transgression was not such, nor so to be adjudged at the Time of the Offence perpetrated, as it was afterwards ; yet by Authority of Parliament the Offence precedent was from the old Nature altered ; and he, who before at the Time of the Offence, until the making of the Law, was not to be privileged but by his Clergy, was now by an Act made after, by Judgment executed. And since in the Case of a private Man, as was this of *Bennet Smith*, such Consideration, and such good Discretion was used, who can imagine it to be odious ? Nay, who is it, that would not the like or greater Care to be had of a Prince, and especially of so good and virtuous a Prince, as she, of whom our Conference is now ? But yet we are charged with partial Affection, unsettled Minds, and Doubleness. Whether this Speech now be an Offence to the House, he earnestly craved the Judgment of the House. For that it might seem by the Gentleman's Earnestness who spake, that some one his Friends, whom he was bent to serve, would be touched. Whereupon, for his own Part, he est-soons protested, he had no certain Resolution with himself of any Title, but

but was to be satisfied with the Consent of that Assembly ; howsoever, adding further, if his Motions might so sort, as they were liked, he offered this Proviso to be added, That if any such Person, who had made any such Claim, shall disclaim and renounce all Title during her Highness's Life, the same Person, &c. to be then restored to the old Estate.

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‘ Mr. Comptroller, after some Declaration of Grief, perceiving the Matter grow to Heat, as verily the greatest Number of the House were more than moved with Mr *Goodier's* Speech, and that Men were disposed to talk at large of Matters contrary or repugnant to the Bill, moved that it might be severed ; because the first Part came in, and was exhibited to that House by her Majesty's learned Council ; the other was but the Advice of a private Man ; which Advice, though it justly deserved Commendation, yet was it not, in his Fancy, to be joined with that which came in other Sort.

‘ Mr. *Snagg* argued to this Effect, That in making of Laws, Plainness of Speech should be used, all Intrapments to be shunned and avoided. And here he moved, why the Statute of *Edw. 3.* whereby it is enacted, That all such, who shall endeavour, compass or imagine the Death of the King, &c. should be Traitors, &c. should not be said sufficient, reaching as far, and comprehending as much, as this latter Advice. For the Regard of the Time past, he said, he could have no good liking thereof, and what was practised in Queen *Mary's* Time (under Correction) he took to be no charitable Precedent ; concerning the Authority of the Parliament, he did conclude nothing, but said it was a Prevention.

‘ Sir *Francis Knolles* shewed, That he could not utterly dislike the conjoining of the Additions, sith that they rise all of one Ground, and that they both are good and charitable ; whereof he acknowledged her Highness to have Intelligence, and the Cause already to have been in Conference by her Counsel. And for the Word (*bath*) he saith it contained no such Absurdity, but with good Zeal it might be maintained. And therefore such Vehemency and

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Sharpness of Speech, he said, was more than requisite, yea more than convenient. And as for the Obscurity, he said, of Men that would mean well, it could not be misconstrued; and to stay or prevent Devices past, he thought it but honest Policy, which being otherwise used in a Prince's Case, is not to be disliked. He remembered her Highness's Unwillingness to punish such Offences, and therefore though the Law be sharp, yet such is her Mildness, that if any have offended for so much as may concern her Person, surely he thought it would not be executed; and her Clemency tempered with Authority could never grow to Cruelty, wherein what his Conscience was, he thought not fit to make further Shew thereof; but simply and plainly he would deal herein, not meaning to treat in such Sort, as if he thought to deserve Thanks, or any Thing of her Majesty; for what he did, he did it also as mindful of his own Safety.

* Another spake (whose Name is not expressed in the aforesaid anonymous Journal) shewing the Weight of the Matter, which was then in Hand, to rest as well on the general Safety of the Subject, as on the Preservation of her Majesty's Person; and therefore he could not but approve the Effect of the whole, both in Bill and Addition; albeit for the Pains in the Bill he was somewhat variant from that which was there offered, and in the Understanding of some Words he was doubtful; as for the Word *Compassing*, he made some Question; of this, *bodily Hurt*, he had no perfect Intelligence, since the Hurt of Body may grow by Grief of Mind, and Grief of Mind perhaps by small Cause. He also said, that saving in the Statute of 27 H. 8. he hath not read it. But further, he said, that he that would not allow her for lawful Queen, in his Conceit, should also be called a Traitor; but for the speaking of those most slanderous Words of Heretick, Infidel, Schismatic, he would not any Man to be for the first Offence taken as a Traitor; for that the not acknowledging of the Supremacy, being a far greater Offence, is but the Pain of *Præmunire*. And therefore,

fore, except the same Offence also might be made Treason, he could not like thereof. But if it should so seem to them good, that it should be as he indeed wished, then was he well pleased to put them both to one Predicament.

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‘ And for the Word *Heretic*, he said, that the Papists all, of Force must be forced to say, Her Majesty is one ; or that they themselves must be content to carry the Name, and to be noted *Nomine*, as they are *Re et Veritate* Heretics, which Name they willingly will not bear. He further said, that with the rest of those Words of Slander, he thought it might do well to insert the Name *Papist*. That if any Man should say her Majesty to be an Infidel, Papist, or Heretic, &c. to be a Traytor ; for that some say, there are in these Days that do not spare to say, Her Majesty is of another Religion than is published ; that it is the sole Doing of the Counsellors, whereby the Doctrine (in Sort as it is) is thus published, and not her’s. He also added, that his Wish was, that no Man might be attainted of these Words, except the Speech or Publication might be testified by two Witnesses. For the Additions, he said, Assuredly they might not be severed from the first Bill, not only as they are Matters materially depending on the first, but stretching so far to the Maintenance of the first, that without them the first may seem to be nothing. For, said he, there can be no Remedy provided, except the Cause of the Grief be known, and the same Cause removed ; wherein the Rebels of the North gave clear Experiment : For doubtless, when they pretended Reformation of Religion, they thought to rend up the Ground, and subvert the Stay thereof, which was her Majesty’s Person ; and by them he wished us to learn at last, and to wax wiser. He said, the Court of Chancery will straitly decree for saving and quiet keeping of a quiet Possession, often looking to ordering Things before past, and shall not the Court of Parliament do the like for the Title of the Crown ? And the ancient Laws of the Realm (he said) do maintain the same, as long before the 35 H. 8 the Stat. 5 E. 3.

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in such like Cases hath ordained, that the Heir of the Father's Offence shall be punished; *consule locum citatum.*

• Mr. *Mounson* said, It were horrible to say, that the Parliament hath no Authority to determine of the Crown; for then would ensue, not only the annihilating of the Statute 35 *H. 8.* but that the Statute made in the first Year of her Majesty's Reign, of Recognition, should also be laid void; a Matter containing a greater Consequence than is convenient to be uttered.

• Mr. *Heneage* moved the House to this Effect, that either the Bill for Addition should be severed, or both to be referred to the Queen's learned Counsel, to consider of the Conveniency thereof; and then by them to be exhibited, &c. but of his Opinion he yielded no further Reason.

• Mr. *Long*, a young Gentleman, would have proved the Word (*have*) and a Regard of the Time past, not to be amiss, for that at the Time of the Offence the Malice of the Offender was as great as it is at this present.

• Mr. *Fleetwood* endeavoured to prove the overcharging of the Bill with larger Words than were convenient, and more Proviso'es than were to the Purpose, to have been the Overthrow of that which was truly meant; wherein the cunning Adversary, when he knoweth not how to subvert directly, will by this Means easily and subtilly insert more, pretending a Face of more Forwardness than the rest, when indeed his Heart is bent to the Hindrance of the whole. For Proof and Experience hereof, he remembered the cunning Prelates in *Henry* the Fourth's Time, and afterwards in *Edward* the Fourth's Time, when King *Edward* required the Suppressing of all such Abbies, as King *H. 6.* had erected. To hinder this, contrary to the King's Meaning, some would needs add the Colleges in *Cambridge* which by him were also founded; to which, when by no Means the House could be induced, as well the Intent of the first, as of the last, was subverted,

§ The

‘ The like he remembred also of the second ^{Queen Elizabeth.}
Year of of *H. 7.* in matter of Treason, which all ^{1571.}
Men would have yielded unto; the counterfeit
Friend heaped in, to give the King free Liberty of
Restitution to whom he would, of all, both Goods
and Possessions, whereof the Inconveniency being
seen, Stay was made of the whole. So that, what
Men may not do directly, with Face of further
Friendship they do covertly. He concluded there-
fore, it were well, and most safe, to make two Bills,
and to be referred to the Queen’s learned Counsel,
as Mr. *Heneage* had well divided.

‘ Mr. Serjeant *Manwood*, first answering the
Meaning of the Words (*bodily Hurt*) said, It must
be intended when Violence and Force is done or of-
fered to the Body, and not otherwise, or elsewhere.
And whether the Words of Slander should be Trea-
son, he thought that there was great Reason they
should be; for (quoth he) who so shall affirm her
Highness to be an Heretic, doth doubtless with her
the Pains of an Heretic, *viz.* to be burnt, &c. He
further would have to be added to these Words of
the Bill, That whosoever shall affirm himself to have
Title, &c. to be a Traitor. He was of further O-
pinion, that it should be no Clogging to the Bill, to
have Matter of the same Nature added; being also
provided for the same Purpose, as good, consequent,
and necessarily concurring with the Effect of the
Bill. And for the Authority of the Parliament, he
said, It could not, in reasonable Construction, be o-
therwise, for who so should deny that Authority,
doth deny the Queen to be Queen, and the Realm
to be a Realm.

‘ After which, Mr. *Alford* and Mr. *Dalton* spake
severally to the said Bill, touching certain Offences,
to be made Treasons. Whose Speeches containing
no new Matter at all in them, more than hath been
formerly spoken, are omitted in that often-before-
cited *anonymous Journal*, out of which all these fore-
going Speeches are transcribed. After all which,
the Business was at length brought to this Head,
to be referred to a Committee.

‘ All

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' All the Privy Council being Members of this House, Sir *Christopher Heyden*, Sir *Henry Nevill*, Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, Mr. Serjeant *Manwood*, Mr. Serjeant *Jeoffry*, Mr. *Heneage*, Mr. *Stoaks*, Mr. *John Vaughan*, Mr. *Bell*, Mr. *Mounson*, Mr. *Popham*, Mr. *Norton*, Mr. *Dalton*, Mr. *Fleetwood*, Mr. *Yelverton*, Mr. *Goodier*, Mr. *Alford* and Mr. *Long*, were appointed to meet in the Star-Chamber.'

Debate on a Bill
for the Suppress-
ing of Simony ;

April 13th, the Bill for suppressing of Simony in Presentations to Benefices was read the first Time, on which Mr. *Snagg* observed, ' That the Cause of the Slanders, which the Papists have against the Church of *England*, in that they say Coblers, Taylors, Tinkers, Millers, &c. are of the Ministry, groweth hereby, that the Livings are detained by the Patrons from the Spiritual, in their own Hands, to their own private Uses ; whereas the first Original of the Creation of Patronages being considered, it appeareth that nothing is left to the Patron of Right. The Manner of their Original he shewed at large, and that the same was granted *Deo et Ecclesia* ; and concluded that the Patron had nothing of Worth or Value, but a bare Nomination, if it be truly used ; since that, dealing sincerely, he is neither to respect Commodity, Blood, Affection, Friendship, nor any thing else, but the Worth and Sufficiency of the Man, &c.'

Another relating
to Vagabonds.

The same Day the Bill against Vagabonds was read a first Time, and, tho' not usual in such Cases, divers Speeches ensued, of which this is an Abstract ;

' Mr. *St. John* moved, that an old Bill, before this Time exhibited into the Lower House, concerning this Matter, might be perused.

' Mr. *Sandys* endeavoured to prove this Law for Beggars, to be over sharp and bloody, standing much on the Care which is to be had for the Poor ; saying, That it might be possible with some Travail had by the Justices, to relieve every Man at his own House, and to stay them from wandering. This Experience he shewed, and what was done in the County of *Worcester*. Mr. Treasurer talked to this

this Effect, That he would have a Bridewell in every Town, and every Tipler in the County to yield twelve Pence yearly to the Maintenance thereof.

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‘ Mr. *Wilson*, a Master of the Requests, argued, thus, That Poor of necessity we must have, for so Christ hath said, until his second Coming: And, as true it is, said he also, That Beggars, by God’s Word, might not be amongst his People: *Ne sit Mendicus inter vos*. His Experience he shewed through the greatest Part of Christendom, concluding, that such Looseness and Lewdness was no where as here: He said, It was no Charity to give such a one as we know not, being a Stranger unto us. Thus, said he, did the *Locrenses* constitute by their Laws. Even as of Thieves did the *Grecians* judge of them. To the Pain of the Constables for their remiss Dealings, he wished might be conjoined Imprisonment.’

On the 14th, the Bill for Reformation of the Book of Common Prayer was read a first Time, which occasioned another Debate:

Debate on a Bill
for reforming the
Common Prayer.

‘ Mr. Treasurer of her Majesty’s Household reasoned to this Effect, That if the Matters mentioned to be reformed were Heretical, then verily they were presently to be condemned; but if they are but Matters of Ceremony, then it behoveth us to refer the same to her Majesty, who hath Authority, as Chief of the Church, to deal herein. And for us to meddle with Matters of her Prerogative, quoth he, it were not expedient. Withal, he said, what Cause there might be to make her Majesty not to run and join with those who seem to be most earnest, we are not to search; whether it be, for that in Time and Order she hopeth to bring them with her, or what other secret Cause or Scruple there might be in the Heart of Princes, it is not for all People to know.

‘ Mr. Comptroller argued to this Effect, as afore, commending the Zeal, but that the Place and Time were

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were not fit. And since we acknowledge her to be Supream Head, we are not in these petty Matters to run before the Ball, which to do, and therein to offend, were great Folly ; how forwarned we were herein, he did then refer to our Consideration, insinuating in some sort, that our heady and hasty Proceedings, contrary to and before the Law, did rather hinder than help.

Hereupon Mr. *Pistor*, with a grave and seemly Countenance, and good natural Eloquence, shewed how Conscience enforced him to speak ; and rather to hazard his Credit than to the Offence of his Conscience be silent. Albeit he would acknowledge willingly, that many Hundreds of that honourable and worshipful Assembly, were able to teach him, and he indeed willing to learn of them all. The Matter of his Grief was, that Matters of Importance standing us upon for our Souls, stretching higher and further to every one of us than the Monarchy of the whole World, were either not treated of, or so slenderly, that now after more than ten Days continual Consultation, nothing was thereon concluded. This Cause he shewed to be God's, the rest are all but terrene, yea Trifles in Comparison ; call you them never so great, or pretend you, that they import never so much ; Subsidies, Crowns, Kingdoms, he knew not, he said, What they were in Comparison of this ; this, he said, I know, whereof he most thanked God, *primum quærit Regnum Dei, & cætera omnia adjicientur vobis.* This Rule is the Direction, and this Desire shall bring us to the Light, whereupon we may stay, and then proceed unto the rest ; for in his Word, and by him we learn, as saith St. *Paul*, to correct, reform, &c. Our true Home certainly is not here, *Non habemus hic permanentem Civitatem* : And the Justice of God moved Terror unto all, which he seemed to mean concerning the Bill before-mentioned of *Strickland's* Propositions. And so did set it forth with Vehemency, that there lacked no Modesty ; and with such Eloquence, that it neither seemed studied, nor too much

much affected, but grave and learned throughout, and no whit too long, but very well approved of. Queen Elizabeth.
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‘ And after him Mr. *Snagg*, and far after him indeed, either for Order, Proof, or Matter, he entered into the Discourse of *Strickland's* Articles, and seemed to maintain them ; this namely, not to kneel at the receiving of the Communion, but rather, if a Law hereof should be made, to lie prostrate, to shun the old Superstition ; or otherwise to set every Man at Liberty, and in this Behalf to do according to his Conscience and Devotion, he judged it to be nothing derogatory or contrary to the Prerogative ; and the Direction, he thought fit to be left out of the Book, which should be a Law, &c.

‘ After which Arguments, it was, upon the Question, agreed, That a Petition should be made by this House unto the Queen's Majesty, for her Licence and Privity to proceed in this Bill, before it be any further dealt in.’

‘ The same Day the Bill against Licences and Dispensations, granted by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was put to the Question, Whether it should be read or no ? It was over-ruled in the Affirmative, and had thereupon its first Reading. After which, Mr. *Alford* (although a Bill be not usually spoken unto till after the second Reading) spake against the Bill ; and endeavoured to prove, that Licences for Marriages in some Cases might be needful, and that Dispensations also for Non-residence might, upon some Occasion, be of great Necessity ; as if a Minister should be employed upon some Foreign Ambassage, or other Matter of great Weight.

Debate on a Bill
against Licences,
&c, by the Abp.
of Canterbury.

‘ Mr. *Yelverton* much disliked, as it should seem, Mr. *Alford's* Speech ; and spake very vehemently in Maintenance of the Bill, alledging, that, as he thought, no good Christian could be against it ; in respect that by the very Words of the Bill it appears, that it was only framed for the Suppression of such Licences and Dispensations, as were contrary to the Word of God.

‘ Mr. *Dalton* spake next, against the Bill ; and grounded his Opinion only upon this vain Supposition,

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sition, That a Bishop can do nothing contrary to the Word of God.

‘ Mr. *Beadle* spake next, in Maintenance of the Bill ; but the Substance of his Speech is so briefly and imperfectly set down, as it cannot be gathered what his Reasons were.

‘ Mr. *Manwood* spake very judiciously and moderately, allowing well the Scope and Meaning of the Law ; but wished, that in respect it mentioneth the Redress of many Grievances, those same Grievances might first be particularly made known to the House, before the Bill were any farther proceeded in.

‘ Mr. *Fleetwood* approved the Bill, yet spake not directly for it ; but very covertly guarded at the Ecclesiastical Judges, and the Office of Faculties ; shewing also in the Conclusion of his Speech, that Livings are given to Ministers for the instructing the King and his People, and for the Keeping of House, and other Deeds of Charity. All which, if they were absent by Dispensation, he inferred must of Necessity be neglected.

‘ Serjeant *Lovelace* lastly, as it should seem, concluded further Speech in this Business, shewing the Use and Commodity of this Bill in Question ; but doubted that there was not Power enough given therein, nor sufficient Remedy provided for Redress of the Mischiefs thereby supposed to grow, by reason of the granting the aforesaid Licence and Dispensations. Upon which, it should seem, that some Members of the House were appointed to consider of the said Bill, but their Names are not found in the original *Journal-Book* of the House of Commons, or in that before-cited *anonymous Journal*, out of which both the preceeding and ensuing Speeches are transcribed.

‘ Mr. *Norton* made a Motion by warrant of this Court, by the Wisdom and godly Care which in Matters of Weight was to be employed, That to avoid the shameful and most hateful Usage amongst the Ecclesiastical Judges, for delivering of Clerks convict upon their Oaths, and the manifest Perjury there

there, by their Law against the Law, committed, Queen Elizabeth. 1571. some Order might be taken. He proved it might not be said a Liberty of the Church, except they will claim a Liberty to Sin; wherein indeed their principal Liberty hath stood, and for the which they have not spared to hazard, nay to give, both their Bodies and Souls to become Traitors to God and Man.

‘ Thus did that Rebel Bishop *Becket*, whose principal Quarrel and chief Cause of all his Stir, was, that the King would have punished one of his Mark, a Priest, for an abominable Incest committed by him: Which trifling Fault (forsooth) this holy Saint could not endure to be rebuked of by a Temporal Judge. *Et hinc illæ Iræ*. He shewed, it could not be termed a Privilege, and Encouragement to Learning, since it was no other but a Cloak for their Naughtiness, and for such as might be of the Pope’s Sect. As well appeared, in that it was allowed to none but to such as might enter their Holy Orders, and not to one that had two Wives. He shewed at large the Circumstance of their practised Order upon the Purgation of such Clerks, declaring of Truth so disordered and hateful Doings, that the whole House resolved to take Care for Redress.

‘ There was then next after, by the Policy of Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, a Motion made by one to have in Talk the Grievs which before had been uttered in the House, concerning the deceitful Dealings of Treasurers and Receivers, the Reformation of the Exchequer for Homage, &c. and for the granting of Licences by the Queen, contrary to the Form of sundry Statutes. Bill concerning Treasurers, &c.

‘ Hereupon Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* standing up, and some Introduction made to crave Patience and Toleration of the House, he endeavoured to prove the Motion of Mr. *Bell*, made some Days before, to be a vain Device to be thought of, and perillous to be treated of; since it tended to the Derogation of the Prerogative Imperial; which, who should attempt in his Fancy, could not otherwise be accounted than an open Enemy. For what Difference

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ence is to say, the Queen is not to use the Privilege of the Crown, and to say she is not Queen; since they are so linked together, that the one without the other may not possibly be, or subsist? We are, said he, to give to a common Constable the Right and Regard of his Office; which if we should deny her, what is it other than to make her meaner than the meanest? And albeit Experience hath shewed such and so great Clemency in her Majesty, as might make us perhaps forfeit ourselves; yet it is not good to sport or venture too much with Princes; yea, let be that our Meaning be good, yet if it be not so thought of, how then? He remembered the Fable of the Hare, which fled upon the Proclamation, that all horned Beasts should depart the Court, lest his Ears should be said to be Horns. This did he further inculcate, with this further Signification, that if we should in any Sort meddle with those Matters, her Majesty might look to her own Power; and thereby finding her Validity to suppress the Strength of the challenged Liberty, and to challenge and use her Power any Way, to do as did *Lewis of France*, who, as he termed it, delivered the Crown there out of Wardship, which the said *French King* did upon like Occasion. He also said, that other Kings had absolute Power, as *Denmark* and *Portugal*; where as the Crown became more free, so are all the Subjects thereby the rather made Slaves.

‘ This Speech was disliked, as implying many Occasions of Mischief; but for the present he was not answered further, than that it seemed he did mistake the Meaning of the House, and of the Gentleman that made the Motion; who would it not otherwise to be taken, or otherwise for the House to deal in the Matter, than to shew their common Grievs in due and seemly Sort unto her Majesty.

‘ The Parliament was then by the Consent of the House, for that it was *Easter Eve*, adjourned until *Thursday* next; and it was agreed, that they should from thenceforth come to the House at seven of the Clock in the Morning. During which said Time of *Easter*, Mr. *Strickland*, so often before mentioned,
for

for the Exhibiting the Bill for Reformation of Ceremonies, and his Speech thereupon, was called before the Lords of the Privy Council; and required to attend upon them, and to make Stay from coming to the House in the mean Season.

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‘ On, *Thursday*, the 19th Day of *April*, to which Day the House of Commons had been, on *Saturday* the 14th Day of this Instant *April* foregoing, adjourned; the Bill for the restraining of *Kentish* and *Suffex* Cloths to be sold at the Fairs at *Maidston*, was read the first Time.

‘ The Bill for the Validity of Burgesſes not reſi- ant, was read the second Time; upon which ensued divers Arguments.

‘ The first Man that spoke effectually to this Bill, was Mr. *Warnecombe* of *Hereford*; who standing up, said to this Effect, That it behoveth all those which were Burgesſes, to see to that Bill; for, quoth he, this may touch and over-reach their whole Liberties, as not having whereunto to stay; but that Lords Letters shall from henceforth bear all the Sway: And to this Effect was all that he said.

Debate on a Bill
relating to the
Validity of Bur-
gesſes not reſi-
ant.

‘ Mr. *Norton* first made Explanation of the Meaning of the Bill, to be (he said) to shame the Imperfection of Choice, which is too often seen, by sending of unfit Men; and lest happily any Thing might be objected to the Imperfection of the Parliament, which may seem to be scant sufficient by reason of the Choice made by Boroughs, for the most Part of Strangers. (Whereas by the positive Law, no Man ought to be chosen Burgesſ for any Borough, but only Reſiants and Inhabitants.) He said further, that the Choice should be of such as were able, and fit for so great a Place and Employment, without Respect of Privilege of Place or Degree; for that, by reason of his being a Burgesſ, it might not be intended or thought he was any thing the wiser; withal, he argued, that the whole Body of the Realm, and the good Service of the same, was rather to be respected, than the private Regard of Place, Privilege, or Degree of any Person.

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‘ Then Mr. Speaker moved the Opinion of the House, whether they could like the Bill should be ingrossed ? and coming to the Question, some said, No ; but the greatest Number seemed to say, Yea.

‘ Whereupon one standing up, whose Name is not exprelled, said thus. I run wholly with the Pretence of the Bill, that Boroughs decayed may be eased or relieved, knowing assuredly the same honourable for the Realm, and in many Respects profitable and commodious to those who do inhabit the Countries adjacent to such decayed Towns ; that it is so, I will not stand to persuade. How far this Law may help them I know not ; if they be decayed, then it is most fit for them, that of their own Company there may be some, who feeling the Smart, can best make Relation of their Estate ; and knowing the Country, may devise and advise of such Helps, as without the Hurts of other Places may restore the old Ruins. All Things are in Change, and nothing so suppressed, but by God’s Grace the same may in Time by Policy be raised up. But, to open my Meaning shortly, the Question is, What Sort of Men are to come to this Court, and public Consultation in Parliament ? Whether from every Quarter, Country, and Town, there should come (as I might say) Home-Dwellers, or otherwise Men chosen by Directions, it forceth not whom ? I am surely of Mind, that neither for the good Service of her Majesty, Safety of our Country, or standing with the Liberty, which of Right we may challenge (being born Subjects within the Realm) this Scope is to be given ; or such Looseness in Choice to be permitted. That the whole Land of this Realm, we know, is to be for three Purposes employed, and thereby three Sorts of Men are, as it were, created.

The one Part given in *Frank Almoigne*, or for Divine Service to be used, to the Glory of God and Ministry of his Word.

‘ The second Part to be holden for Defence against our Enemies, by the Sword.

‘ The

' The Third for Maintenance of our Livelihood at Home, and for necessary Employments here. Of these three Grounds, in the first Division there groweth, to our Knowledge, three Sorts of Men: The Ministers and Teachers of the Gospel, of whom we must have Care, and with whom, in making of Laws we must conferr, if we will be Christians. The second are the Nobility, Knights and Soldiers, the Defenders and Fortresses against our Enemies. The third Sort be the Providers, Devisors, and Executors of all Things necessary, commodious or seemly for a settled Estate (which hath the Happiness to live there where are *Pax et Justitia*) for Increase of our Wealths, Sustenance of our Laws, the Governing of Bodies, or what else soever is necessary for us: Such are the Counsellors, such are the Judges and Ministers of the Laws, such be the Tillers of the Earth, such be Merchants, such be Victuallers, and in this Degree be those, who do use manual and mechanical Arts. Of all these, in like sort, as of the others, Regard, Care and Respect must be had; they thoroughly consulted with, the general and particular States are by them to be known, if we mean to proceed for the public Weal, or endeavour in the same a true Perfection. These last Sort making one Kind are most ample, and thereto most effectual to be dealt with, as yielding to the rest *supplementum, consilium et auxilium*.

' The second Sort is likewise most necessary to be thought of. The first are best, and first to be followed; but those are all to be in one Knot conjoined, and as Members of one Body in one to be used. We may, in regard of Religion, lie in the Dike (as the Proverb is) long enough without our own Aid, if we do nothing but pray for the Help of *Hercules*. We may not trust only to the Sword, lest the common known Saying of *Cicero* should turn to our Shame: *Parva sunt foris arma, nisi consilium domi*. Neither our Preaching nor our Praying to God are only sufficient, but withall we must do our Endeavours, and help each other; since for the driving away of a Dog there is (as the Country-man

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saith) some Virtue in a Stone, if it be conjoined with St. *John's* Gospel; I mean, that every Part of the Body should do his own Part to the Aid of the other; and the Hand to help the Hand, the Foot to help the Foot. &c. This hath moved our Forefathers, and on this Ground hath it grown, that in this Court where we are to consider of all, and (as Occasion may serve) to alter, constitute, or reform all Things, as Cause shall be, that we do know all Sorts of Men, so far as may be to help all. How may her Majesty, or how may this Court know the Estate of her Frontiers, or who shall make Report of the Ports, or how every Quarter, Shire or Country is in State? We who never have seen *Berwick* or St. *Michael's* Mount, can but blindly guess of them, albeit we look on the Maps, that came from thence, or see Letters of Instruction sent; some one whom Observation, Experience, and due Consideration of that Country hath taught, can more perfectly open what shall in Question thereof grow, and more effectually reason thereupon, than the skilfullest otherwise whatsoever. And that they should be the very Inhabiters of the several Countries of this Kingdom, who should be here in Times certain employed, doubtless it was the true Meaning of ancient Kings and our Forefathers, who first began and established this Court. But, leaving what I cannot reach unto, the first Constitution and Freedom of this Court, the old President of Parliament-Writs do teach us, that of every Country their own Burgesses should be elected; the Writ to the Sheriff and Borough is directly so; and the Writs to the Cities being Counties, are, *Quod ex nobis ipsis elegatis duos Cives*, &c. which do prove it to be so; the Statute in the 1 *H.* 5. for the Confirmation of the old Laws was therefore made, and not to create a new unknown Law; and that other in the — *H.* 6. was made to redress the Mischief, which by Breach of that old Law did grow. These do conclude it without Contradiction, that for that Time it was thought fit to continue the ancient Use, Liberty, and Conveniency of Service, We know that such as have

have spent their whole Time in Service, or have seen only the Manner of Government of other Nations, and can tell you how the Crown of *France* is delivered out of Wardship; or otherwise tell a Tale of the King of *Castile* and *Portugal*, how they in making of Laws do use their own Discretion; the King of *Denmark* useth the Advice of his Nobles only, and nothing of his Commons; nor can paint you out the monstrous Garments of the common People in some Parts of *Germany*, or the mangled Commonwealth of the Allies, or Shadows of the great Cities, which now are to be seen in *Italy*, surely all those Men, except they know also our own Homes, are not to be trusted to conclude for our own Home-Affairs. Doubtless the best learned for Matters of Commodity to be raised, or to be wrought in his own Country, may happily give Place to his own Neighbours; even as wisely and learnedly a Gentleman said of late, In every Commitment, according to the Matter, there must be a Declaration of Men, as for Merchandize the Merchant and so forth: *Unicuique in sua arte perito credendum*, we hold for a Maxim. And, I mean this wholly to no other End, but since we deal universally for all Sorts and all Places, that there be here of all Sorts, and all Countries, and not (seeing you list so to term it) thus to ease them of Towns and Boroughs, that they may chuse at Liberty whom they list; yet can I hardly call that a Liberty, which is contrary to that which the King and the Queen commonly granteth as a free Gift, and by these Words, *Et de majori gratia nostra, &c. dedimus potestatem, &c. quod de seipsis eligant duos Burghenses, or duos Cives*; we take it more for a Man to have of his own, than to have (by any Man's Discretion) of another.

It hath been of late oft and well said, that to nominate another to a Benefice is nothing worth in Value, but if it be, that a Man may take the Benefit himself, that is both valuable and estimable; that cannot hurt, that is ever good for me, if it be ever tied in nearest sort unto me; and for this Reason we say in Law, That the Estate Tail, which must

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continue in our own Blood, is better than the Estate in Fee simple, which may be got further from us, and is to be given to Strangers at Pleasure; Mischiefs and Inconveniences there may grow by this Liberty; but a Mischief it may be to me, and inconvenient also to utter the same: I will not speak thereof but dutifully, neither do I see any thing that is amiss at this present; what was done a hundred Years since, I may safely tell, and thus it was;

‘ A Duke of this Realm wrote his Letters to a City, which I know, to this Effect; whereby he did signify, that a Parliament was to be summoned in short Time, and that for great Causes he was to crave Aid of all his Friends, and reckoning them amongst the rest, he wished them of four under-nominated to chuse two; the Letter under the Duke’s Seal is still preserved, but hear you the Answer; he was written to with due Humbleness, that they were prohibited by Law, they might chuse none of them. I will venture a little nearer.

‘ In Queen *Mary’s* Time, a Council of this Realm (not the Queen’s Privy-Council) did write to a Town, to chuse a Bishop’s Brother, (and a great Bishop’s Brother it was indeed) whom they assured to be a good Catholic Man; and willed them to chuse to the like of him some other fit Man. The Council was answered with Law. And if all Towns in *England* had done the like in their Choice, the Crown had not been so wronged, and the Realm so robbed with such Ease at that Parliament, and Truth banished as it was; what hath been, may be; there is no Impossibility. It will be said, I mistake, it is not meant, but that Towns shall be at Liberty to chuse whom they list. I say, that Liberty is the Loss of Liberty; for when, by Law, they may do what they will, they may not well deny what shall be required. It is too truly said, *Regando cogit qui rogat potentior*. And, I have known one that to avoid a great Man’s Displeasure, that dwelt near him, that was desirous, as he knew, to buy his Land, did, upon small Occasion, bind himself not to alienate his Land from his true Heirs: This being known, I mean,

I mean that he was bound as aforesaid, the great Man was contented to let him keep his own quietly, which otherwise he would not have done. Surely Law is the only Fortrefs of the Inferior Sort of People, and contrary to the Law, the greater Sort will not desire to expect any thing. Though now at this present, God be praised, we need not to fear the Greatness of any Man, Justice is so well administered: Yet hereafter, whatsoever hath been we may fear, either for Maintenance of Faction, or Maintenance of Mischief. Again, I say, it may be, what heretofore was, possibly again may be. We stand, and have stood of late upon the notorious Manifestation of the Authority of Parliament; except withal you keep the ancient Usage of the same, and withal endeavour the Freedom thereof, in Effect you do nothing, if I guess aright.

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‘ It is further said, That in some Towns there are not Men of Discretion fit; they be not the wiser (said the Gentleman that spoke before) for being Burgeffes. I can never be persuaded, but that either the Lord, whose the Town is, be the Town never so little; or the Steward, if it be the Queen’s, or some good Gentleman of the Country adjoinant, will either assign them who know the Town, and can be content to be free among them, and to serve by their Appointment, for their Country, and for them; or else for some reasonable Fee, such as be of their learned Council, and who know them, and the Country will deal for them. I mean it not so strictly, that those who should be chosen, should of necessity be Dwellers in the Town; but to be either of the Town, or towards the Town, Borderers and near Neighbours at the least: And, to this Effect I would the Bill were framed. I stand too long hereon, and Abundance of Matter occasioneth Confusion; this is all. It was meant at the first, and first Constitution of Parliament, that Men of every Quarter, and of all Sorts, should come to this Court, that they should be freely chosen. This in every Age hitherto hath seemed best; to alter without Cause is not convenient; to give every Town Liberty,

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Liberty, may offer in Time Inconvenience. None so fit for every Country as those who know the same. To chuse of their own, it is a Liberty; to lose their Liberty, I think it a bad Commodity, call it as you please; by such Kind of Release in easing Men of their Wealths, or some good Part of their Living, we bestrew our Charity. And in like Sort, and in like Reason, it seems to me this Law is inferred out of the Preface of the same. For thus it is penned:

“ Forasmuch as some Towns are decayed, and ‘ have not of their own, therefore let every Town ‘ do what they list.’ Of a particular Proposition to make a general Conclusion, it is against our Rules; and nothing, as saith the Philosopher, is more absurd than *non causam pro causa*. Some Towns cannot send fit Men; it standeth very strongly, if you seek to help, let the Plaister be fit for the Sore; let not the Salve be stretched too far, lest the whole and sound Flesh, by the broad spreading of the Salve, do either smart, fret or fester. The Medicine which healeth the sick Man, may be Poison for the whole and sound Man. All Citizens and Burgessees should not be thought alike, and yet all provided for, as there is due Cause. Let there be therefore convenient Consideration, how to heal, how to hurt. And, I could wish, according to the Weight of the Matter, it might be rather staid on, than thus abruptly over-ruled; and while we fly *Scylla*, we fall not into *Charybdis*; while we say that Boroughs cannot send to this High Court so fit Men as be convenient, that by altering the ancient Usage, which is the only Warrant and sole Stay of Freedom in Parliament, it may happily be said we have no Parliament now within this Realm, nor Liberty at all for any such here to be holden.’

‘ Mr. Bell, in Answer to this, did collect the Substance of what had been said, and in a long Discourse shewed, that it was necessary all Places should be provided for, and not Boroughs only, being but one of the Members of the Commonwealth; and that some of them have neither Wealth to provide

vide fit Men, nor themselves any in any Sort convenient. He thought not amiss, if, in respect of those manifest Wants, convenient Supply should be ; but, without the Warrant of Parliament, such Alteration might not be. He then thought it not amiss to be advised. And for the Objection of the Danger which may ensue by reason of the Letters of Noblemen ; he could not, he said, but think it convenient to prevent the same ; and therefore wished, that there might be the Penalty of Forty Pounds upon every Borough, that should make such Election at the Nomination of any Nobleman.

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‘ Mr. *Alford* reasoned to this Effect, That above all Things, necessary Care ought to be for the chusing and having of fit Men to supply the Place, that there be not Imperfection. And therefore noted one great Disorder, that many young Men, not experienced, for Learning Sake, were often chosen, through whose Default he knew not ; whether Letters of Noblemen, Love or Affection in the Country, their own Ambition, or the careless Account of the Electors, or what else was the Cause, he knew not ; but it was to be seen : Whereupon he would, none should be of that House, not of thirty Years of Age at the least. And for the Choice of Townsmen, he said, he was of his Mind, that *Moses* and *Aaron* should be conjoined together ; and that there should be one of their own, or some Gentleman near them, who had Knowledge of the State of the Country ; and the other a Man learned, and able to utter his Mind and Opinion, since that Knowledge locked up in the Breast, not being orderly opened, is to no Purpose ; and this Part, he said, was as requisite for Consultation as the other. So that he seemed to conclude the Law should be in Force for the one Burgesses, and at Liberty for the other.

‘ After which Speeches the aforesaid Bill touching the Validity of Burgesses, &c. was ordered to be committed to Sir *Thomas Hilton*, Knight ; Mr. *Bell*, Mr. *Robert Bowes*, Mr. *Fleetwood*, Mr. *Warncomb*, Mr. *Bedle*, Mr. *Atkins*, Mr. *Alford* and Mr. *Gynes* ;
and

Queen Elizabeth. and appointed to meet in the *Temple-Church*, upon *Saturday* next, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon.
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April the 19th, the Bill against Usury was read the second Time, which occasion'd another Debate in the House. And,

Debate on a Bill
against Usury.

First one Mr *Clarke* spoke to this Effect, That the referring of the Punishment in the Bill mentioned, being put to the Ecclesiastical Judges, for so much was nothing; for that they are to punish by the Civil Law, by the Canon Law, or by the Temporal Law. The Civil Law would not avail them, because by that Law there is Allowance of Usury. The Canon Law is abolished; and in that Respect the Temporal Law saith nothing; so that the Pretence may seem to be somewhat, but the Effect thereby wrought is nothing; yet that it was ill, neither Christian nor Pagan ever denied. *Aristotle* being ask'd what Usury was? He said it was, *Præter Naturam*, and therefore could not be defined. *Plato*, being ask'd the same Question, answer'd it was, *Idem ac Hominem occidere*. *St Augustine* the same; and, in the very Words of the *Psalmist*, answereth to the Question, *Domine quis habitabit in Tabernaculo tuo?* He said, *Qui curat Proximo suo, non decipit eum, & qui Pecuniam suam non dabit ad Usuram.*

Mr *Molloy*, first learnedly and artificially making an Introduction to the Matter, shewed, what it might be thought on for any Man to endeavour the Defence of that which every Preacher at all Times, following the Letter of the Book, did speak against; yet, saith he, it is convenient, and being in some Sort used, it is not repugnant to the Word of God. Experience hath proved the great Mischief which doth grow by reason of excessive Taking, to the Destruction of young Gentlemen, and otherwise infinitely; but the Mischief is of the Excess not otherwise. Since to take reasonably, or so that both Parties might do Good, was not hurtful; for to have any Man lend his Money without any Commodity, hardly should you bring that to pass. And since every Man is not an Occupier who hath Money, and some which have not Money may yet have Skill to use Money, except you should take
away

away or hinder good Trades, Bargaining and Contracting cannot be; God did not so hate it, that he did utterly forbid it, but to the *Jews* amongst themselves only, for that he willed they should lend as Brethren together; for unto all others they were at large; and therefore to this Day they are the greatest Usurers in the World. But be it, as indeed it is, evil, and that Men are Men, no Saints, to do all these Things perfectly, uprightly and brotherly; yet *ex duobus malis minus malum eligendum*; and better may it be born to permit a little, than utterly to take away and prohibit Traffick; which hardly may be maintained generally without this.

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‘ But it may be said, it is contrary to the direct Word of God, and therefore an ill Law; if it were to appoint Men to take Usury, it were to be disliked; but the Difference is great between that and permitting or allowing, or suffering a Matter to be unpunished. It may be said, that *Nudum Pactum non parit Obligationem*, but there must be somewhat given in Consideration. Let be that there is nothing given of the Lenders, yet there is somewhat *simile*, & *omne bonum Exemplum*, & *omnis Lex in se aliquid habet Mali*; for that some body shall suffer thereby. We are not, quoth he, so straitned to the Word of God, that every Transgression should be surely punished here. Every vain Word is here forbidden by God, yet the Temporal Law doth not so utterly condemn it. As for the Words of the Scripture, he said, the *Hebrew* foundeth thus in Answer of this Question; *Qui non dat Pecuniam suam ad Morsum*: So it is the Biting and over-sharp Dealing which is disliked and nothing else. And this, he said, was the Opinion and Interpretation of the most famous learned Man *Beza*, and in these Days, of *Bellarmino* and divers others, who say, that the true Interpretation of the *Hebrew* Word is not *Usura*, but *Morsus*.

‘ Dr *Wilson*, Master of the Requests, said, that in a Matter of so great Weight he could not shortly speak; and acknowledging that he had thoroughly studied the Matter, desired the Patience of the House.
And

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And first he endeavoured to prove, that the common State may be without Usury; then he shewed, how even Men that have been ignorant of God or his Laws, finding the Evils thereof by their Laws, redressed it; and utterly prohibited the Use thereof. As the *Athenians* caused all the Writings taken for Interest Money to be burnt; and the like did *Lycurgus* by a Law which he made, and seeing the Fire, he said, he never saw so fair a Flame as those Books yielded. He then made a Definition of Usury, shewing it was taking of any Reward, or Price or Sum, over and above the due Debt. To make any Thing of that which is not mine, it is Robbery. Forthwith upon the Delivery of the Loan Money, it is not mine. And the Law is, that *Mutuum* must ever be free. And here he shewed the Difference between Location and *Mutuum*; the one implying a Contract, the other none. He remembered, out of *Ezekiel* and other the Prophets, sundry Places of Scripture; and vouched St *Augustine's* Saying, that to take but a Cup of Wine is Usury and damnable. This he seemed to say in Answer to that which had been before pronounced, that it was not Usury except it were *Morsus*.

He shewed, that Loss may grow by Usury; First, to the Queen, then to the Common-Wealth. To the Queen in this, that Men not using their own Money, but finding great Gain in Usury, do imploy the same that Way; so that her Customs must decrease: To the Common-Wealth, for that, whoso shall give Hire for Money, is to raise the same in the Sale of his Commodity. All Trades shall be taken away, all Occupations lost; for most Men seeking most Ease, and greatest Gain, without Hazard or Venture, will forthwith imploy their Money to such Use. He shewed it to be so hateful in the Judgment of the Common Law, that an Usurer was not admitted to be a Witness; nor after his Death to the common Sepulchre of Christians. And for that his Discourse had been long, he inserted (as he said) this Tale for Recreation of the Hearers.

§ In

‘ In *Italy*, quoth he, a great known Usurer being dead, the Curate denied him the common Place of Burial; his Friends made Suit, the Priest would not hear; in fine, the Suitors bethought them of a Policy to bring it to pass, that he might be buried in the Church; which was this: The Parson of the Church did accustomably use to carry his Books daily from his House to the Church on his As; and the As, by often going, needed not to be driven, but, knowing his Journey, as soon as he was laden, would, of himself go to the Church Door: They desired the Parson, his As might carry the dead Body; and where it should stay there it might be buried. To so fond a Request the Priest agreed; the Body was laid on the As, who, feeling a greater Burthen than he was used to bear, did run towards the Town, never staying until he came to the common Place of Execution.

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‘ This Tale merrily told, he again entred to his Matter, and proved the Condemnation of Usury and Usurers, by the Authority of the *Nicene*, and divers other Councils: He shewed, that the Divines do call Usury a Spider, a Canker, an Aspis, a Serpent and a Devil. He shewed how, in Nature, the Offences of Homicide and Usury are to be compared; and by Examples proved the Ruins of divers Commonwealths, when such Practices for Gain are suffered, as that of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, &c. The Manner of Exchange now used in *London*, and how much Abuse he shewed; a Thing in old Time not practised, but by the King, as in *Edw. 3d*’s Time, when thereby the King obtained such Treasure, and such excessive Wealth, that it was first wondred at, then guessed that it grew by the Science of Alchymy. He here shewed the Practice of the *Low-Countries*, of *Germany*, and namely the Doings of Fulchers to the very beggering of great and mighty Princes; he avouched the Authority of Sir *John Cheek* in that Place, concerning that Matter; and the Mind of the ancient *English Law-Writers*, who say that the Offence of Usury in Life the Bishop is to punish; but after his Death his Executors shall not have his Goods, but they

Queen Elizabeth. they appertain *ad Fiscum*. He concluded, that the Offence, in his Conscience, should be judged Felony.
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‘ Mr. Bell said, This Matter being so ample had occasioned much Speech, and was for cunning Men a fit Theme to shew their Wits and Skills upon. Yet, saith he, it standeth doubtful what Usury is; we have no true Definition of it. And, in our Laws, we have little written thereon but this, *Usura non currat super Infantem*. And not much more but to answer the Objections, where it is pretended, that the not punishing of it by the Temporal Judge, may seem to be an Approbation of it, or to leave it to the Church may seem as if we had no Care concerning it; for that to put over an Offence to another Judge, may not be so said, if to the Church it may appertain, and they may well correct it. He further shewed, that the Privilege of the Church is by Statute upon this Point to be expressed, namely in the Statute *de Articulis Cleri*. He said, We must not curiously search Cicero’s Paradoxes, and pronounce that *Peccata sunt æqualia, hoc est, quod omne peccatum est peccatum*; and no further: But be every Man, according to his Transgressions, to make a reasonable Pain; though he who stealeth two Pence, doth as well steal as he who stealeth an hundred Pounds; yet there are Degrees; we have *Petit Larceny*, and that which is greater; both Faults, both to be punished, both to be hated; but Difference there is in Punishing, even according to the Greatness and Smallness of the Offence; for the one there is Death, and for the other not so.

‘ In the Statute for punishing of Perjury, in the 5th of this Queen, there are sundry Degrees of Perjury: Not for that there is less Perjury in the one than in the other; but that there is greater Hurt occasioned in the one than in the other. In Answer of the Scripture, he said, the Law of God is, *If thou be stricken on the one Cheek, to turn the other; or if thy Cloak be taken away, to give also thy Gown*. The literal Sense is not to be taken, and, as there is Cause, a reasonable Construction must be. So he concluded, that though it were a Sin, yet it was to be punished

nished here on Earth according to the good or bad, or rather according to the greater or lesser Hurt which groweth thereby.

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After which one, whose Name is not expressed in the said *anonymous Journal*, endeavour'd the Answer of Dr. *Wilson*, but with a Protestation of his Insufficiency; and then he shewed, how the Divines have not agreed what is Usury, but for his own Part, he was to incline to the Opinion of the Learned of these Days, whose Interpretation of literal Sense and Skill of the Tongues do appear; which took that for no Usury which is without Grievance. He made a Difference of the Law of God concerning the Divine Majesty contained in the first Table, and what is concerning Man in the second Table; saying, that nothing is to be said in that Degree Sin in itself, but by the Circumstances; for so it is known whether it be good or bad. To kill is prohibited, yet sometimes not to kill is evil. *Phineas* killed, and was therefore commended. And Thefts, at Times, have been in Scriptures approved. So likewise Usury is allowed of in the Scriptures; but that it might be used to Strangers only: Albeit the chosen Children of God amongst themselves might not use it. But let be, whether it be utterly unlawful, or in some Sort to be tolerated, it is a Question; and until it be determined for the common Commodity and Maintenance, let it be as hitherto it hath been used. And for the common Sort of Bargains of Corn for Cloth, Silk for Land, &c. what they be, whether Usury or no, we know not. That all should be well, it is to be wished; that all may be done well among Men, it is beyond Hope; for we are no Saints, we are not of Perfection to follow the Letter of the Gospel, *Whoso striketh the one Cheek, &c.* and this Text, *Date nihil inde sperantes*: These are no express Commandments. For the first, the Law of Nature doth direct, and for the other also the same Law in Effect maketh Defence; surely there can be no Sin where there can be no Breach of Charity. To do that therefore to another which we would to ourselves (the State, Circumstance,
and

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and Case to ourselves considered) is commendable, or not to be reproved; if we ourselves be to borrow, who is it that would not, in Extremity, give a little to save much Money? It is said, The Usurer doth or may grow rich: Who hath disliked, in a Commonwealth, that there should be *Homines boni frugi*? they may be considered, and may be good, more than for one Purpose. He further stood on this, That God did not absolutely forbid Usury, which surely if it had been utterly ill, he would have done. And he added, That the common Laws were cruel in their Censures, and wished that they should be no more remembered than they are followed.

‘Serjeant *Lovelace* argued to this Effect, That Usury was of Money only, protesting that he hated all Kind of Usury, but yet the greater the Ill was, the more and more greatly did he hate the same. But to prohibit it with so sharp and extream a Law as to lose all, he thought it would be the Ground of greater Covetousness. Withal, he added, to prohibit the Ill of Covetousness in Generality, were rash, void, and frivolous; since that the Speech and the Act itself is indefinite, comprehending all our Actions and Doings; and therefore, as utterly vain to prohibit it, in vain Words of Generality. To prohibit Drunkenness, Pride, Envy, Surfeiting, &c. were somewhat in some particular Sort; to do it in Generality, albeit that we know that it is every Way damnable by the direct and written Word of God, it were but Folly. Of these great Evils, (to the which Man, of his Nature, is born and made prone, and too apt) when we may not reach to the best, furthest and uttermost, we must do, as we may say, by Degrees. As to say, there shall be no Deceit, or Slight in making of this or that Kind of Wares; that the Husbandman shall till his arable Land, and that he shall not keep above such a Number of Sheep; that there shall be no Forestalling, Regrating, &c. and this in Particularity; whereas otherwise, generally amongst sinful Men to prohibit this Sin or that Sin utterly on a Pain, it may not be: But thus rather, he that shall so sin shall

shall suffer, or lose so much; whereupon he concluded, that there should be Degrees in punishing of Usury; as he that should take so much, to lose, or be punished thus; he that shall take more, more deeply.

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Mr. Fleetwood shewed, that all these Arguments long since, with great Skill, and very often have been opened in this Place: He said, it was *Ingenui pudoris fateri per quem profeceris*. Mr. Cheek, he said, argued, and so far forth explained this Matter, as the Learner was thereby sufficiently informed, and the Learned fully satisfied. His Papers of his Speech, he said, he had not lost, and therefore could shew as much Cunning as the cunningest, which had bent or endeavoured himself thereunto. He said, he had read the Civil Law, and of the Common Law somewhat; but how well he did understand it, he would not promise ought: What Usury was, he said, he was not to learn; call it, if we list, *Proxima homicidio*, or how else by a Description he forced not much; for if there were not Civil Law, it were not much to be accounted of for any Certainty in this Case thereby to be had; and the most antient Laws of this Realm have taught us thereof somewhat; as the Laws of do make to us mention of Usury. So do the Laws made in *Lucius's* Time, and those of *Athelred*; whereby it was ordained, that Witches and Usurers should be banished. King *Edward*, the Saint, referreth and appointeth the Offenders herein to suffer *Ordealum*. Then was there a great Kind of Usury known, which was called *Torus*, and a lesser known by the Name of *Glanville*, in the Book *de legibus antiquis*, maketh mention of an Inquiry of Christian Usurers. In the *Tower*, he said, he had seen a Commission awarded to the Master of the Courts (he named not what Courts) to enquire of Usurers, and the Punishment of them, he said, was whipping; he said further, by Scripture, he knew it was damnable; and therefore, whether it was good or not good, it was no good Question. For the Matter of Implication, whether by the Pretence of

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the Law it might be intended that it was in any Sort allowed ; he said, It might be construed and compared there with the Statute of Tithes : Where it is said, That till for seven Years after Heath-Ground broken up, no Tithe shall be paid ; the Construction hereupon is clear. He shewed also, that Usury was *malum in se*, for that of some other Transgressions, her Majesty may dispense afore with ; but for Usury, or to grant that Usury may be used, she possibly cannot. He further said, That the Words of an Act of Parliament are not ever to be followed ; for that sometimes the Construction is more contrary to what is written, as in the Statute of *Magna Charta* ; *nisi prius homagium fecerit*. And some Statutes are winked at by Non-Observation or otherwise, so that they seem to be no Laws, even in those Things which we practise most, as the Statute of *Glocester*, for the Oath to be taken in Debt and Damages.

‘ Mr. Dalton endeavoured to prove, that Mr. Fleetwood mistook the Bill, but, in Fancy, he mistook his Arguments.

‘ Mr. Norton shewed, that all Usury is Biting ; as in the Word *Steal* is contained all Kind of injurious taking away of a Man’s Goods : And as Slandering is said to be Murthing or Homicide ; so is Usury justly ever to be said Biting, they being both so correlated or knit together, that the one may not be without the other. He concluded, That since it is doubtful what is good, we should be mindful of the old Saying, *Quod dubitas ne feceris*, and for that *Quod non ex fide est peccatum est*, therefore he wished that no Allowance should be of it.’

After which Debate, the Bill was committed to Mr. Treasurer and others, but their Names not mentioned.

April the 20th there were some Arguments started concerning the Liberties of that House, and about some Untruths which had been reported of it. On which Mr Speaker declared, ‘ That the Queen had ‘ as good Liking of this Parliament, as ever she had ‘ of any Parliament since her Majesty’s Reign.’

The

Debate relating
to the Liberties
of the House.

The same Day a Bill for Fugitives, or such as were fled beyond Sea without Licence, was read a first Time, say the *Journals*, but *Dewes's* a Second; on which Mr *Wentworth* stood up, and put the House in Mind of a Speech made by Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* some Days before:

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‘ He proved his Speech (without naming him) to be an Injury to the House; he noted his Disposition to flatter and fawn on the Prince, comparing him to the Cameleon, which can change himself into all Colours, saving White; even so (said he) this Reporter can change himself into all Fashions but Honesty: He shewed further the great Wrong done to one of the House, by a Misreport made to the Queen, meaning Mr *Bell*; he shewed his Speech to tend to no other End than to inculcate Fear into those which should be free; he requested Care for the Credit of the House, and for the Maintenance of free Speech (the only Means of ordinary Proceedings) and to preserve the Liberties of the House, to reprove *Lyers*, inveighing greatly out of the Scriptures and otherwise, against *Lyers*. As this of *David*, *Thou O Lord shalt destroy Lyers*, &c.

‘ Mr Treasurer signified his Desire to have all Things well; saying, he could not enter into Judgment of any; but he said, it was convenient ill Speeches should be avoided, and the good Meaning of all Men to be taken, without Wrestling or Misreporting; and the Meaning of all Men to be shewed in good Sort without unseemly Words.

‘ Mr Speaker endeavoured an Agreement and Unity in the House, making Signification that the Queen’s Majesty had in plain Words declared unto him, that she had good Intelligence of the orderly Proceedings among us; whereof she had as good Liking as ever she had of any Parliament since she came unto the Crown; and wished we should give her no other Cause than to continue the same, and added further her Majesty’s Pleasure to be, to take Order for Licences; wherein she had been careful, and more careful would be.

K 2

Mr

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And on a Mem-
ber being detain-
ed.

‘ Mr *Carleton*, with a very good Zeal, and orderly shew of Obedience, made Signification how that a Member of the House was detained from them (meaning Mr *Strickland*) by whose Commandment, or for what Cause he knew not. But for as much as he was not now a private Man, but to supply the Room, Person and Place of a Multitude specially chosen, and therefore sent, he thought that neither in regard of the Country, which was not to be wronged, nor for the Liberty of the House, which was not to be infringed, we should permit him to be detained from us. But, whatsoever the Intendment of this Offence might be, that he should be sent for to the Bar of that House, there to be heard, and there to answer.

‘ Mr Treasurer in some Case gave Advertisement to be wary in our Proceedings, and neither to venture further than our assured Warrant might stretch, nor to hazard our good Opinion with her Majesty on any doubtful Cause. Withal he wished us not to think worse than there was Cause. For the Man (quoth he) that is meant, is neither detained nor misused, but on Considerations is required to expect the Queen’s Pleasure, upon certain special Points: Wherein (he said) he durst to assure that the Man should neither have cause to dislike or complain, since so much Favour was meant unto him as he reasonably could wish. He further said, that he was in no Sort stayed for any Word or Speech by him in that Place offered; but for the exhibiting of a Bill into the House against the Prerogative of the Queen; which was not to be tolerated. Nevertheless the Construction of him was rather to have erred in his Zeal and Bill offered, than maliciously to have meant any Thing contrary to the Dignity Royal. And lastly, he concluded, That oft it had been seen, that Speeches have been examined and considered of.

‘ Sir *Nicholas Arnold*, with some Vehemency, moved, that Care might be had for the Liberty of the House; he was enforced, he said, rather to utter,

utter, and so to run into Danger of Offence of Queen Elizabeth.
others, than to be offended with himself. 1571.

‘ Mr Comptroller replied to the Effect Mr Treasurer had before spoken.

‘ Mr *Cleere* told, how the Prerogative is not disputable, and that the Safety of the Queen is the Safety of the Subjects. He added, how that for Matter of Divinity, every Man was for his Instruction to repair to his Ordinary, being a private Man. (where he utterly forgot the Place he spake in, and the Person who was meant; for that Place required and permitted free Speech with Authority, and the Person was not himself a private Man but a publick; by whom even the Ordinary himself was to be directed.) He concluded, that for as much as the Cause was not known, he therefore would the House should stay.

‘ Mr *Yelverton* said he was to be sent for, arguing in this Sort. First, he said, the Precedent was perilous, and though in this happy Time of Lenity, among so good and honourable Personages, under so gracious a Prince, nothing of Extremity or Injury was to be feared; yet the Times might be altered, and what now is permitted, hereafter might be construed as of Duty, and enforced even on this Ground of the present Permission. He further said, that all Matters not Treason, or too much to the Derogation of the Imperial Crown, were tolerable there; where all Things came to be considered of, and where there was such Fulness of Power, as even the Right of the Crown was to be determined, and by Warrant whereof we had so resolved. That to say the Parliament had no Power to determine of the Crown, was High-Treason. He remembered how that Men are not there for themselves, but for their Countries. He shewed, it was fit for Princes to have their Prerogatives; but yet the same to be straitned within reasonable Limits. The Prince, he shewed, could not of herself make Laws, neither might she by the same Reason break Laws. He further said, that the Speech uttered in that Place, and the Offer made of the Bill, was not to

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be condemned as Evil; for that if there were any Thing in the Book of Common-Prayer, either *Jewish*, *Turkish* or *Popish*, the same was to be reformed. He also said, that amongst the Papiſts it was bruted, that by the Judgment of the Council, *Strickland* was taken for an Heretick; it behoved therefore to think thereof.

‘ Mr *Fleetwood* first shewed the Order of Civil Arguments from the Cause, to this Effect, that Time must be known and Place observed. He said then, that of Experience he could report of a Man that was called to Account of his Speech in 5th of this Queen; but he said, he could not meddle with so late Matters, but what he had learned in the Parliament Rolls, he thought convenient should be known and considered of. In the Time of *Henry IV.* a Bishop of the Parliament was committed to Prison by Commandment of the King; the Parliament resolved to be Suitors for him. And in King *Henry V.* the Speaker himself was committed, and with him another of the House; the House thereupon stayed, but Remedy they had none, other than to be Suitors to the King for them; whereupon he resolved, that the only and whole Help of the House for Ease of their Grief in this Case, was to be humble Suitors to her Majesty, and neither send for him, nor demand him of Right.

‘ During which Speech the Council whispered together, and thereupon the Speaker moved, that the House should make Stay of any further Consultation thereupon.’

On the 21st Day of *April*, a *Proviso* was offered to be made to the Bill for coming to Church and receiving the Communion. Which being read a second Time, divers Arguments were used on it.

Debate on a Bill
relating to the
Communion.

‘ Mr *Aglionby* argued, that there should be no human positive Law to enforce Conscience, which is not discernable in this World. To come to the Church, for that it is publick, and tendeth but to prove a Man a Christian, is tolerable and convenient; and not to come to a Church may make a Man seem irreligious, and so no Man; for that by
Reli-

Religion only a Man is known and discerned from Brute Beasts; and this is to be judged by the Outward Shew. But the Conscience of Man is eternal, invisible, and not in the Power of the greatest Monarchy in the World, in any Limits to be straitned, in any Bounds to be contained, nor with any Policy of Man, if once decayed, to be again raised. He shewed, that neither *Jew* nor *Turk* do require more than the Submission to the outward Observance, and a convenient Silence, as not to dislike what is publickly professed; but to inforce any to do the Act, which may tend to the Discovery of his Conscience, it is never found. He shewed the Difference betwixt coming to Church, and receiving the Communion; the one he allowed to be incomprehensible in Law, the other he could not allow. And in Answer of that which before had been said, that the Conscience was not straitned, but a Penalty of the Loss of their Goods only adjudged; whereof, no doubt, the Law of God and the Law of Nations had given to the Prince an absolute Power; he said to this, out of *Cicero de Legibus*, that Man out of his own Nature is to care for the Safety of Man, as being reasonable Creatures, and not the one to seek to bereave the other of his necessary Livelyhood, adding out of the same Book, this Saying of *Tully*, *Qui Deum non curat hunc Deus ipse judicabit*. He shewed out of *St Paul*, that we must not do Ill that Good may grow thereby; we must not take from him that is his, to the End thereby to make him to do what is not in his Power; to be fit for so great a Mystery God above of his free Gift may make a Man.

‘ To come unworthily the Penalty is appointed, *St Paul* hath pronounced it to be Death and Damnation, as guilty of the Blood and Death of Christ. Not to come our Compulsory Law shall now condemn, so that this our Favour herein to be extended, is either to beg, or be exiled from our native Country. He said, There was no Example in the Primitive Church to prove a Commandment for coming to the Communion, but an Exhortation; he

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he said, St. *Ambrose* did excommunicate *Theodosius*, and forbid him to come to the Communion, because he was an evil Man. And for us to will and command Men to come, because they are wicked Men, it is too strange an Inforcement, and without Precedent.

‘ Mr. *Agmondesham*, without Regard of any thing spoken before, made mention of a Decree in the Star-Chamber, made by nine of the Privy Council, signed with their Hands, and the Hands of the Chief Justices, concerning the receiving of the Communion by Gentlemen of the *Temple*. This Decree, made by so grave and learned Men, he thought for himself, and to his own Conscience, was a Stay what to judge, and a Direction or Precedent what to follow: The Tenor of which Decree, for so much as it did concern the Reformation of the Houses of Courts, and principal Places to be thought and considered of, he wished might be inserted into the Law. The Motion was well liked, and he required to bring the same the next Day, which was done.

‘ Mr. *Norton* shewed, that where many Men be, there must be many Minds, and in Consultations convenient it is, to have contrary Opinions, contrary Reasons and Contradictions; thereby the rather to wrest out the best: But this by the Rule of Reasoning, and Reason must be *sine Jurgiis*: He then said, that not only the external and outward Shew is to be sought, but the very Secrets of the Heart in God’s Cause, who is *Scrutator Cordium*, must come to a Reckoning. And the good Seed so sifted from the Cockle, that the one may be known from the other. A Man baptized is not to be permitted among us for a *Jew*. And here somewhat slipping from the Matter in Speech, he moved, that all suspected for *Papistry* might make this Oath, That they did acknowledge the Queen to be Queen, for any thing the Pope, in any respect, might do, noting some Imperfection in the former Oath. To this End, quoth he, are the Bulls now sent to discharge Men of their Allegiance, and to give free Pardon of Sins; so that
he,

he, who thus should be pardoned, should from henceforth in no sort communicate with the Professors of the Gospel ; and now, quoth he, the very Touchstone of Trial, who be those Rebellious Calves, whom the Bull hath begotten, must be the Receiving of the Communion ; which whoso shall refuse, we may justly say, He favoureth, &c. And Men are not otherwise to be known but by the external Sign. To answer and satisfy the *Dilemma* objected before in the first Day, made concerning the Disorders of certain Ministers, in saying of the Service contrary to the Instruction of the Book ; he wished, this Proviso might be added, that mistaking of Chapters, mis-reading, &c. should be recovered as no Offence, so that there be no Mass-Song, or Popish Service used in *Latin*, &c. And thus the Bill rested to be further considered of.

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This is the Sum of all the Debates which the *Journalist* hath given us in this Session of Parliament. But, it is to be observed, that those Debates, especially on Church Affairs, were managed with Caution, for the Queen always shewed a Dislike that the House of Commons should meddle in Ecclesiastical Matters. Nor were they without some Checks from Court, on the Freedom of Speech in other Things, where it bore too hard on the Prerogative. Mr. *Strickland*, we are told, in one of his Speeches, earnestly pressing the Reformation of the Book of Common-Prayer, was, the next Day, called before the Queen's Council, and commanded by them to forbear going to the House till their Pleasure was further known. This occasioned great Clamour within Doors ; and divers Speeches and Motions were made, relating to Breach of Privilege, by Restraint of one of their Members from attending ; altho' he was neither imprisoned nor confined. But, the Speaker got up, and desired the House to forbear any further Debate on that Matter ; and, the next Day, Mr. *Strickland* came again to the House by the Council's Allowance, to the no small Joy of his Brethren. On another Day, also, this Session, the Speak-

The Queen
checks the Mem-
bers for debating
on Points of Pre-
rogative, &c.

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er informed the House, that he had received a Command from her Majesty to caution the Members to spend less Time in Motions, and to avoid long Speeches. The *Journalist* tells us, that this Message was occasioned by one Mr. *Bell*, speaking against Monopolies or granting of Licences, which, he thought, was contrary to certain Statutes, and, as was said, seemed to speak against the Prerogative. Tho', adds the *Journalist*, what he did say was so much to Order, that those who were touched might be angry, but they could not blame him for it.

The next Thing we think proper to mention, in the Proceedings of the Commons, this Session, is a Case of *Bribery*. It seems that one *Thomas Long*, Gent. was returned for the Borough of *Westbury*, in the County of *Wilts*, for this present Parliament, who being found out to be a very simple Man, and not fit to serve in that Place, was questioned how he came to be elected. The poor Man immediately confessed to the House, that he gave to *Anthony Garland*, Mayor of the said Town of *Westbury*, and one *Watts*, of the same, *four Pounds*, for his Place in Parliament. Upon which, an Order was made that the said *Garland* and *Watts* should repay unto the said *Thomas Long* the *four Pounds* they had of him. Also, that a Fine of twenty Pounds be assessed, for the Queen's Use, on the said Corporation and Inhabitants of *Westbury*, for their scandalous Attempt. That the said *Thomas Long* should be discharged from all Bonds, given to the said Corporation, for executing his Place in Parliament. And, lastly, that the Mayor and *Watts* should be sent for by a Pursuivant, to answer such Things as should be objected against them by the House.

But we hear no more of this Matter; probably the Straitness of the Time prevented it, being very near the End of this Session. It must be allowed that a Seat in Parliament was held very cheap in those Days. For, tho' the Value of Money, then, was much greater than it is now, yet *four Pounds* can never bear a Proportion to the monstrous Sums that have

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have been expended, or given, for a Seat in Parlia-^{Queen Elizabeth.}ment in much later Times. 1571.

May the 28th, Upon Speeches uttered in the House, ' That some of the Members of it *had taken Money for their Voices*, a Committee was appointed of all the Privy Council of that House, with others, to meet that Afternoon, in the Star-Chamber, to examine what Persons, being Members of that House, had taken any Fees or Rewards for their Voices, in the Furtherance or Hinderance of any Bills offered in the House. Who, the next Day, reported, That they could not learn of any Member that had sold his Voice in the House, or any way dealt unlawfully, or indirectly, in that Behalf. Thereupon, Mr *Norton* declaring, That he heard some had him in Suspicion that Way, justified himself; and was, upon the Question, cleared, and his honest and just Dealing, and great Pains-taking declared and affirmed by the Votes of the whole House.' If this Purgation, or Scrutiny, was truly made, it is a remarkable Instance of the Integrity and Incorruption of Parliaments in those Days.

But, we find that this Queen had small Occasion to bribe her Parliaments; they were ready enough to give her every Thing she wanted, even without asking. And, when, at any Time, they touched upon her Prerogative, either in Religious or Civil Matters, a haughty Message or two brought them, tamely, to submit and, calmly, bear the Burden: One Instance more, amongst many in this Reign, is now before us. For, when this Parliament was stickling about a farther Reformation in Church-Affairs, and had framed Articles for that Purpose; she sent the Commons Word, ' That she liked their Articles well enough, but would have them published by the Bishops, under the Direction of her own Royal and Supreme Authority; positively, inhibiting them from dealing in such Matters (a).'

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(a) See *D'Ewe's Journal*, p. 180. for a much farther Account of this Affair than is to be met with in the Journals of the Commons.

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In the printed Statutes are only the Titles of twenty-eight Acts passed this Session, in the Catalogue of the Lords *Journals* are forty-one ; but, in the Supernumerary are none of any Moment, except what have been mentioned. On the 29th of *May*, a Bill for a general Pardon was read thrice, in the House of Lords, and concluded. And in the Afternoon of the same Day the Queen came to the House of Lords, and being seated on the Throne, the Speaker of the House of Commons came up with the Bills, and made a Speech on the Occasion. The Particulars of which are not given, but the *Journalist* hath preserved the Lord Keeper, Sir *Nicholas Bacon's* Answer to it, which is as follows :

Mr Speaker,

The Lord Keeper's Speech at the Close of the Session.

THE Queen's Majesty hath heard, and doth very well understand, how discreetly and wisely you have declared the Proceedings of this Session in the Nether House ; for Answer whereof, and for the better Signification of what her Majesty's Opinion is, both of Parliament Men and Parliament Matters, this is to let you understand, her Majesty hath commanded me to say unto you, that like as the greatest Number of them of the Lower House, have in the Proceedings of this Session shew'd themselves modest, discreet, and dutiful, as becomes good and loving Subjects, and meet for the Places that they be called unto : So there be certain of them, altho' not many in Number, who in the Proceeding of this Session, have shew'd themselves audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous, calling her Majesty's Grants and Prerogatives also in question, contrary to their Duty and Place that they be called unto ; and contrary to the expresse Admonition given, in her Majesty's Name, in the Beginning of this Parliament ; which it might very well have become them to have had more Regard unto. But her Majesty saith, that seeing they will thus wilfully forget themselves, they are otherwise to be remembred ; and like as her Majesty

‘ jesty allows and much commends the former Sort,
 ‘ for the Respects aforefaid; so doth her Highness
 ‘ utterly difallow, and condemn the second Sort,
 ‘ for their audacious, arrogant, and presumptuous
 ‘ Folly, thus by superfluous Speech spending much
 ‘ Time in meddling with Matters neither pertain-
 ‘ ing to them, nor within the Capacity of their Un-
 ‘ derstanding.

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‘ And thus much concerning the Parliament of
 ‘ the Lower House.

‘ And as to the Lords here of the Upper House,
 ‘ her Majesty hath commanded me to let you
 ‘ know, that her Highness taketh their Diligence,
 ‘ Discretion, and orderly Proceedings, to be such,
 ‘ as redoundeth much to their Honour and Com-
 ‘ mendations, and much to her Comfort and Con-
 ‘ solation. And here an End touching Parliament
 ‘ Men.

‘ Now as to Parliament Matters, her Majesty
 ‘ hath commanded me to open and declare unto
 ‘ you, her Opinion conceived therein, touching
 ‘ two Things; the one is concerning the Subsidy
 ‘ and Benevolence, the other is concerning the
 ‘ Execution of the Laws. As to the former,
 ‘ which concerneth the Subsidy and Benevolence,
 ‘ her Pleasure is that I shall say unto you, that in
 ‘ your Dealings in that Matter she hath noted three
 ‘ Things principally, every of them tending much
 ‘ to the setting forth of your Benevolences and
 ‘ good Wills; the first is, who it was that granted,
 ‘ the second, is the Manner of the grant-
 ‘ ing, the third what it was that was granted. As
 ‘ to the first, her Majesty forgetteth not, that it is
 ‘ a Grant made proceeding from the earnest Af-
 ‘ fections, and hearty good Wills, of her good,
 ‘ dutiful, and obedient Subjects, for the greatest
 ‘ Part: And therefore hath commanded me to say
 ‘ unto you, that she maketh a greater Accompt of
 ‘ the great good Wills and benevolent Minds of her
 ‘ good and loving Subjects, than she doth of ten
 ‘ Subsidies; which, as it ought to bring and breed
 ‘ in us great Comfort and Delight, so in reason it
 ‘ ou ht

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ought to move us (as I doubt not but it doth) to be and continue such as be worthy such an Estimation and Account. Again, her Majesty forgetteth not, that besides this is not a Grant by good and loving Subjects, that never made like Grant heretofore, but by such as have contributed from Time to Time, as the necessary Charges of the Realm, and their own Sureties have required; which doth much commend and set forth this Benevolence of yours. And thus much concerning the Persons that have granted.

And as to the second, which is the Manner of granting, her Highness knoweth very well, that before her Time these Manner of Grants have sundry Times past, not without Difficulties, with long Persuasions, and sometimes not without sharp Speeches, but this contrariwise without any such Speeches or other Difficulty, hath been freely and frankly offered and presented; and like as the former did much extenuate their Benevolence, so is this of yours greatly extended. It is written and very truly, concerning Benevolences, *Qui diu distulit diu noluit*, and therefore justly concluded, *Bis dat qui cito dat*; which Sayings she cannot but apply to you, in the Proceedings of your Grant.

Again, Universality in Consent doth greatly commend also your Dealings in this Matter; for a more universal Consent than was in this, will hardly be had in any; and therefore much the more commendable. And thus much touching the Manner of the Gift.

And to the third, which concerneth the Thing given, her Majesty saith, that she thinketh it to be as great as any heretofore hath been granted, and therefore you are to receive condign Thanks for it. And hath further willed me to say, that if the Service of the Realm and your Sureties would so permit and suffer, her Majesty would as gladly, as readily, and as frankly remit this Grant, as you have freely and liberally granted it. Thus I have remembered unto you the three princely

‘ princely Observations, that her Majesty hath con-
 ‘ ceived of this Benevolence of yours, much to your
 ‘ Comfort, and greatly to her Majesty’s Honour;
 ‘ to your Commendation for granting, and to her
 ‘ Highness for this honourable accepting; for her
 ‘ Majesty shall by this Grant receive no Commo-
 ‘ dity or Benefit, but rather a continual Care in
 ‘ dispending and employing of it, about the necessa-
 ‘ ry Affairs and Service of the Realm, and your
 ‘ Sureties; and yet it is a great Comfort to her
 ‘ Majesty, to see you thus frankly and freely join
 ‘ with herself, the Realm, and you.

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‘ Now to the second and last Part, which con-
 ‘ cerneth the Execution of the Laws, which I
 ‘ mean to divide into two Parts; the first is the
 ‘ Execution of your Grant, the second is the Ex-
 ‘ ecution of Laws, now made by you, and of the
 ‘ rest made before of others. As to the former, I
 ‘ am to remember you, that like as it hath pleased
 ‘ the Queen’s Majesty thus princely, honourably,
 ‘ and thankfully, to think of and accept this free
 ‘ and liberal Grant of yours; so certainly, if the
 ‘ like Diligence and Endeavour be not used, by such
 ‘ of you as Choice shall be made of by her Maje-
 ‘ sty, for the due putting in Execution of this
 ‘ Grant, then surely those that shall be thus remis-
 ‘ or negligent, as by that Means her Majesty and
 ‘ the Realm shall be defrauded of any Part of that
 ‘ which hath been thus freely granted, shall there-
 ‘ by minister just occasion to her Highness to have
 ‘ their Fidelity and Truth towards her Majesty,
 ‘ much to be suspected and charged; which would
 ‘ touch them very near. Neither is it an Offence
 ‘ that would be pretermitted, but severely punished.
 ‘ Why, if the Case were between common Per-
 ‘ sons, can there be a greater Untruth and Un-
 ‘ thankfulness, than for a Man to make a Grant in
 ‘ Appearance willingly and readily, and then to
 ‘ seek wilily and craftily to defraud the same Grant?
 ‘ This amongst honest Persons is utterly detested,
 ‘ and if so, how then might it be thought of be-
 ‘ tween the Prince and his Subjects, where for di-

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vers Respects this Bond is thrice as great ; for as the Subject, by the Duty of his Allegiance, is to serve the Prince truly, even so is he by his Oath, and so is he by the great Trust, that by the Princes Choice is committed unto him, as a Commissioner in this Matter, above others. Plainly to speak, it may be affirmed, and that justly, that such as be in Commission for the Execution of this Grant, and shall deal partially, either for Favour or for Fear, or for Love to themselves or their Friends, or negligently or remissly, of Purpose whereby her Majesty shall not be answered of what is due unto her ; such, I say, may justly be charged as Men forgetting their Duty towards God, and their Sovereign, and to their Country. It cannot be denied, that Numbers respect only their private Profit, and not the universal Profit of the Realm, which is their Surety and Defence ; they respect themselves as private Persons, and not as Members of the Universal Body ; but their Imperfection would be supplied by the Wisdom and Perswasion of such, as the Queen's Majesty shall commit Trust unto by her Commission, to see this Subsidy well and truly levied.

And thus much for the Execution of the Grant. Now to the Execution of Laws, made by you, and the rest made heretofore by others. I am to remember you, that all these Labours, Travels, and Pains, taken about the Laws now made, and before time taken about the rest heretofore made, and all the Charge sustained by the Realm about the making of them, is all in vain, and Labour lost, without the due Execution of them. For, as it hath been said, a Law without Execution is but a Body without Life, a Cause without an Effect, a Countenance of a Thing, and indeed nothing ; Pen, Ink, and Paper, are as much towards the Governance of the Commonwealth, as the Rudder or Helm of a Ship serveth to the Governance of it without a Governor, and as Rods serve for Correction without Hands.

* Hands. Were it not meer Madnes for a Man
 * to provide fair Torches to guide his going by
 * Night, and when he should use them in the
 * Dark to carry them unlight? Or for one to pro-
 * vide fair and handsome Tools to prune or re-
 * form his Orchard or Garden, and to lay them up
 * without Use? And what Thing else is it to make
 * wholesome and provident Laws in fair Books, and
 * to lay them up safe, without seeing them execut-
 * ed? Surely in Reason there is no Difference be-
 * tween the Examples, saving that the making of
 * Laws, without Execution, is in much worse
 * Case, than those vain Provisions before remem-
 * bred; for those, albeit they do no Good,
 * yet they do no Hurt; but the making of Laws
 * without Execution, does very much Harm; for
 * that breeds and brings forth Contempt of Laws,
 * and Law-makers, and of all Magistrates; which
 * is the very Foundation of all Misgovernance, and
 * therefore must needs be great and heinous in those
 * that are the Caufers of this; indeed they are the
 * very Occasions of all Injuries and Injustice, and
 * of all Disorders and Unquietnes in the Common-
 * wealth. For certain and evident it is, that the
 * Queen's Majesty, that is Head of the Law, doth
 * all meet for her Majesty to do, for the due Ex-
 * ecution of them. First, she giveth her Royal
 * Assent to the making of them; the most material
 * of them she commandeth to be proclaimed and
 * published; and yet ceaseth not there, but she
 * granteth out her Commission into every of her
 * Shires, to Men which are or should be of greatest
 * Consideration within the Limits of their Charge,
 * which for the better executing of them are sworn
 * to see the Execution of her Laws to them com-
 * mitted, within the Limits of their Commissions;
 * and yet besides all this, by her Majesty's Com-
 * mandment, a Number of these Justices are yearly
 * once at the least call'd into her Highnesses Star-
 * Chamber, and there in her Majesty's Name, ex-
 * horted, admonished, and commanded, to see the
 * due Execution of their Charges.

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1572.

‘ And thus you see her Majesty enacteth, proclaimeth, committeth, exhorteth, admonisheth, and commandeth from Time to Time; yea, what can be devised meet for her Majesty to do, for Help of this, that is left undone? Surely nothing, to her Majesty’s Honour and Renown. Whereupon it followeth, necessarily and consequently, that the whole Burthen of the Offence and Enormity must light upon us, that are put in Trust by her Majesty, to see those Laws executed; and certainly this Offence groweth great or little, as the Trust committed for the Execution of Laws, is great or little; and therefore it standeth us greatly upon, to use our whole Cares and Endeavours, for the Help of this hereafter. Were it possible, trow you, that if Justices being dispers’d through the whole Realm, as they be, did carefully and diligently endeavour themselves, according to the Trust committed unto them, by their Sovereign, duly and truly to execute their Charge, as they be bound by their Oath to God, and by their Allegiance to their Sovereign, and by Duty to their natural Country, and rightly consider’d, by the Love they should bear to themselves and their Posterity, (for if their Country do not well, they shall fare but illfavouredly) were it possible, I say, if this were so done, that Laws should be thus remissly and negligently executed? No, doubtless. Is it not, trow you, a monstrous disguising, to have a Justice a Maintainer; to have him that should by his Oath and Duty set forth Justice and Right, against his Oath offer Injury and Wrong; to have him that is specially chosen amongst a Number by a Prince to appease all Brawlings and Controversies, to be a Sower and Maintainer of Strife and Sedition, by swaying and leading of Juries according to his Will; acquitting some for Gain, indicting others for Malice, bearing with them as his Servant or Friend, overthrowing others as his Enemy; procuring the Questmonger to be of his Livery, or otherwise in his Danger; that his Winks, Frownings, and Coun-

Countenances may direct all Inquests? Surely, ^{Queen Elizabeth,}
surely, these be they that be Subverters of all ^{1572.}
good Laws and Orders; yea, that make daily the
Laws, which of their Nature be good, to become
Instruments of all Injuries and Mischiefs; these
be they indeed of whom such Examples would be
made, as of the Founders and Maintainers of all
Enormities; and these be those, whom, if you
cannot reform for their Greatness, you ought to
complain of them; and like as this is not said of
those that be good, so is this and much more to
be said and done against those that be evil.

But here it may be said, the Mischief appears;
what is the Remedy? To make all Laws pre-
sently executed: I can hardly hope to make them
in better Case than now they be, and although I
had such Hopes, I could find no more Helps but
these.

The first is, having great Care in the Choice
of the Officers: The second, by sharp Correcti-
ons imposed upon such Offenders. There should
be throughout the Realm a Triennial or Biennial
Visitation in this Nature, made of all Temporal
Officers and Ministers, that by virtue of their
Office have in Charge to see Execution of Laws.
By this I mean, that the Queen's Majesty should
make Choice every second or third Year, of cer-
tain expert and approved Persons, to whom Com-
mission should be granted, to try out and exa-
mine, by all good Means and Ways, the Offen-
ces of all such as have not seen to the due Execu-
tion of the Laws, and according to the Offences
so found and certified, to be sharply punished
without Omission or Redemption.

Of Effect like unto this, and to the like End,
was the Visitation of the Church first devised,
whereof came in the Beginning great Good doubt-
less; and Reason I see none, but that a like Good
ought to follow upon a like Visitation made a-
mongst Temporal Officers. Now to find out
the Faults seemeth not hard, for amongst many
other Ways, there is one plain, evident and easy;

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‘ and that is where Offences do abound in any
‘ Country, contrary to the Laws, which the Jus-
‘ tices should so reform, and there be nothing done
‘ by them for the Reformation of those Offences ;
‘ I do not see but this makes a full Charge of their
‘ Uncarefulness and Negligence, whereby they are
‘ well worthy, upon Certificate made, as is afore-
‘ said, to be removed of all Governance, to their
‘ perpetual Ignominy, and to the Commendation
‘ of all those that remain as good Officers.

‘ And besides, to set forth other Pains upon
‘ them, as by Law may be justified ; if this were
‘ once or twice done, I doubt not but the Examples
‘ following of the doing of it would cause greater
‘ Diligence to be used in the Execution of Laws,
‘ than now there is. And the better to understand
‘ which be those Justices that do offend, why
‘ might there not be Order taken, that the Name
‘ of every Justice that hath not prosecuted any Of-
‘ fender for any Offence committed contrary to
‘ any Law, which by the Commission that he is in,
‘ he is authorised to see punished, might be entred
‘ into some Rolls ; and also how often, and how
‘ many of those Kind of Offences he hath also pro-
‘ secuted for a Declaration of his Diligence, where-
‘ by it might appear when such Visitation should
‘ come, who hath been careful, and who hath been
‘ negligent, to the End that the slothful, drowfy
‘ Drones, might be severed from the diligent and
‘ careful Bees. And like as I could wish this to be
‘ done concerning Officers of mean Degree, so do I
‘ desire that the same Course might be taken with
‘ the great and greatest, for so it should be equable.
‘ But if there be nothing done therein, but Things
‘ left as they have been, then must you look to have
‘ your Laws executed as they have been, if not
‘ worse ; for Words will not reform these Matters,
‘ as I have seen by Proof. And this is the Sum of
‘ what I have to say at this Time, concerning the
‘ Execution of Laws.’

This

This Speech being ended, and the Royal Assent given to the Bills, the Lord Keeper, by her Majesty's Command, dissolved the Parliament.

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1571.

Matters began now to be very critical with the Queen of *Scots*, who had been a Prisoner in *England* ever since she fled here for Protection from her rebellious Subjects; who had now actually deposed her, and set her young Son *James* on the Throne. Being weary of Restraint, the unhappy Queen had used many Endeavours to escape, which were then called Conspiracies against the *English* Government. In one of which she had drawn in the Duke of *Norfolk* to assist her; and, by a formal Contract of Marriage between them, the Duke fell into a Snare which effectually ruin'd him. He was arraigned for this and some more Crimes laid to his Charge, was tried by his Peers, and unanimously found guilty of High Treason. But whilst this noble Duke lay under Sentence of Death, another Conspiracy was formed to release him; which being found out, and the Actors in it executed, it was thought necessary to call a new Parliament, the very next Year after the Dissolution of the last, to frame such Laws as might establish the Queen and the present Government, on the most lasting Foundation.

Proceedings relating to Mary Queen of Scots.

A new Parliament call'd.

It hath been hinted, more than once, in these Enquiries, that the Jealousy the Queen was under, as well as all the *English Protestants* of those Days, about the Queen of *Scots*, was the Occasion of her Imprisonment; which ended not but with the Loss of her own Life and many of her Friends. A Parliament was summoned by Writs, dated at *Greenwich*, to meet at *Westminster*, May 8th, in the fourteenth Year of this Reign.

Anno Regni 14.
1572.
At Westminster.

The Queen had also summoned four new Barons to this Parliament, the Writs for calling them being enter'd in the Lords *Journals*; and, on the 1st Day of the Meeting, they were introduced accordingly. Their Names were *John Lord Pawlet*, of *Basing*, Son to the Marquis of *Winchester*; *Henry Lord Compton*; *Henry Lord Cheney*, and *Henry*

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Lord Norris. There is nothing else entered in the *Journals* of either House, to be done on this Day ; but Sir *Simonds Dewes* hath supplied this Defect from a MSS. of his own, which gives us the Lord Keeper's Speech at the Opening of the Parliament in these Words :

The Lord Keeper's Speech at opening the Parliament.

THE Queen's Majesty, our most dread and gracious Sovereign Lady, hath given me Commandment to declare unto you the Causes of the Summons of this Assembly for a Parliament to be holden here at this Time ; wherein albeit I mean to employ my whole Endeavour to the uttermost of my Power and Understanding ; yet I must needs confess, that neither shall you have it done as the Majesty of this Presence, neither as the Gravity of the Cause requireth it to be done. And yet the often Experience that I have, divers and sundry Times, had of the Queen's Majesty's great Benignity and Gentleness, in bearing with and well accepting the Doings of those that to her Service put their good Wills and Diligences ; and, besides all, the Proof of your Patience in the like Matter hath so much encouraged me, that (as I trust) it shall be done although not cunningly nor eloquently, yet plainly and truly, so as it may be well understood and easily born away, and therewith also as briefly as the Greatness of such a Matter will suffer. True it is, the original and principal Cause is, that Things there propounded may be orderly and diligently debated, deeply considered, and thereupon wisely concluded. And to the End, also, that those Conclusions so made, the rather for such an universal Consent as in Parliament is used, remain firm and stable.

Now the Matters that are in this Parliament to be proved, do consist altogether of two Parts. The former is in Matters of Religion, for the better Maintenance of God's Honour and Glory. The second in Matters of Policy, for the more perfect upholding and establishing of the Queen's Majesty

‘ Majesty’s Royal Estate, and the Preservation of Queen Elizabeth, 1572.
 ‘ the Common-Weal committed to her Charge.
 ‘ The Causes of Religion are again to be divided
 ‘ into two, that is, into Matter concerning the
 ‘ good Government of the Subjects at Home,
 ‘ and into Causes of Defence against the Enemy
 ‘ Abroad.

‘ And thus by this Process you see you are, as
 ‘ indeed you ought,

‘ First, To consider, in this your Assembly, of
 ‘ God’s Cause, which faithfully, sincerely and dili-
 ‘ gently done, like as it cannot but bring Success to
 ‘ all the rest, so likewise lukewarm, deceitful and
 ‘ double-dealing therein cannot but breed, nourish
 ‘ and bring forth Factions, Divisions, Seditions, &c.
 ‘ to the great Peril and Danger of all the rest.
 ‘ And the greater that the Personages be in Autho-
 ‘ rity and Dignity that thus deal, the greater of
 ‘ Necessity must be the Danger of the Common-
 ‘ Weal. And because God’s Law and Doctrine,
 ‘ being the first Law and Branch, must light upon
 ‘ ourselves that ought to take the Benefit of it, as
 ‘ first and chiefly upon Ministers of this Doctrine,
 ‘ either for not preaching and teaching by Word
 ‘ and Example of Life so purely and reverently as
 ‘ they might, or else not so diligently as they were
 ‘ bound. And

‘ Secondly, Upon us for not hearing it so desir-
 ‘ ously, or else hearing it and forgetting it, or not
 ‘ following it so effectually as we should.

‘ Thirdly, For that many of us of the Laity do
 ‘ not yield and give that Estimation, Countenance
 ‘ and Credit to the Ministers of his Doctrine which
 ‘ of Right they ought to have, and that many
 ‘ greatly hurt the setting forth of it: For this one
 ‘ Thing may be holden firm by the Rules of good
 ‘ Government; that all Officers both Spiritual and
 ‘ Temporal that have Governance, during the
 ‘ Time of their Offices, ought to be preserved in
 ‘ Credit and Estimation. For how can any Thing
 ‘ be well set forth by them that want Credit? Mar-
 ry,

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ry, for my Part, let the Time of their Offices last as their Doings do deserve.

Fourthly, Because the Want of the Number of Ministers that ought to be and be not, and for the Insufficiency of those that be for divers Respects. But therein the Queen's Highness doubteth nothing, but all that which the Difficulty of Time, in so great a Scarcity of Men meet to be Ministers, will suffer to be done, shall by my Lords the Bishops be done in this Behalf, and that as speedily, diligently and carefully as can be. And if any Person admitted, or to be admitted to this Ministry, shall hereafter, either of Arrogancy or Ignorance, shew any strange Doctrine, contrary or varying from that which by common Consent of the Realm is published, to the Breach of Unity, that he by those to whom it appertaineth, sharply and speedily be reformed, all Favour and Fear set apart.

Thus much for Doctrine. You are most earnestly also to think and consider of the Discipline of the Church, as one of the strong Pillars of Religion, which doubtless at this Time hath two great Lacks. The first the Imperfection of Laws for the Countenance of it, which hath grown either by reason that sundry of the Ordinances made for that Purpose, be disused or otherwise have not their Force; or else for that most of the Laws that remain be such as for their Softness few Men make Account of.

The second Imperfection is the Slothfulness, Corruption and Fearfulness of the Ecclesiastical Ministers and Officers in the due Execution of those Laws that be good and yet continue. True and too true it is, that hereby at this present two great Enormities daily grow: The former that Men of Wealth and Power, given to be evil, may in their Countries live in what dissolute and licentious Life they list; and both Temporality and Spirituality offend daily in all the Branches of Simony, the very Canker of the Church, without feeling of this Discipline.

The

‘ The second, That many of the laudable Rites Queen Elizabeth.
 ‘ and Ceremonies of the Church, or pertaining to 1572.
 ‘ the Ministers of the same agreed upon by com-
 ‘ mon Consent; the very Ornaments of our Reli-
 ‘ gion, are very ill kept or at least have lost a great
 ‘ Part of their Estimation. And here (through
 ‘ the many Faults for Want of Discipline) to re-
 ‘ member you of one particular Matter of great
 ‘ Moment. How cometh it to pass that the com-
 ‘ mon People in the Country universally come so
 ‘ seldom to Common-Prayer and Divine Service;
 ‘ and when they do come, be many Times so
 ‘ vainly occupied there, or at least do not there as
 ‘ they should do, but for Want of this Discipline?

‘ And yet to the Help of this there was at the
 ‘ last Parliament a Law made, but hitherto no
 ‘ Man, no, no Man, or very few, hath seen it
 ‘ executed; as plainly to speak, Laws for the Fur-
 ‘ therance of this Discipline unexecuted, be Rods
 ‘ for Correction without Hands. It cannot be de-
 ‘ nied but as Superstition is every Way to be abhor-
 ‘ red for Fear of Idolatry; so certainly the Loss
 ‘ of this Discipline is always to be avoided, lest else
 ‘ Contempt (that necessarily must follow) may
 ‘ cause Irreligion to creep faster in than a Man
 ‘ would think. For of all other it is the most pesti-
 ‘ lent and pernicious Thing, never suffered nor al-
 ‘ lowed in any Common-Weal, nay not amongst
 ‘ the Heathens that were most barbarous. But
 ‘ here it may be said the Mischief appeareth, where
 ‘ is the Remedy? and that it were better not open-
 ‘ ed in such a Presence, than opened without the
 ‘ Remedy both devised and declared.

‘ In mine Opinion the Remedies may easily be
 ‘ devised: All the Difficulty is in the well execut-
 ‘ ing of them. As first, if the chief Parsonages of
 ‘ this Realm, both in Town and Country, would
 ‘ give good Example, it cannot be but it would be
 ‘ much to the remedying of a great Part of this
 ‘ Mischief.

‘ Secondly, The dividing every one of the Dio-
 ‘ ceses according to their Greatness into Deanaries,
 ‘ as

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‘ as I know commonly they be ; and the committing of the Deanaries to Men well chosen, as I think commonly they be not: And then the keeping of certain ordinary Courts at their prescript Times for the well executing of those Laws of Discipline, as they ought to be, with a sure Controulment of those inferior Ministers by the Bishop or his Chancellor, not biennially or triennially, but every Year twice or thrice: Which Use of Necessity without very great Difficulty may do much in very short Time to the Reformation of this; the chief Officers Ecclesiastical all being very well, and the Laws themselves being first made sufficient and perfect, which in this Parliament may very well be brought to pass.

‘ And, because the Proceedings of Matters in Discipline and Doctrine, do chiefly concern my Lords the Bishops, both for their Understanding and Ecclesiastical Function; therefore the Queen’s Highness looketh that they, being called together here in Parliament, should take the chiefest Care to consider and consult of these Matters. And if in their Conference they found it behoofull to have any Temporal Acts made, for the amending and reforming of any of these Lacks, that then they will exhibit it here in Parliament to be considered upon, and so *Gladius Gladium juvabit*, as before-time hath been used; foreseeing always that all Laws and Ordinances for this Matter of Doctrine and Discipline be uniform, and so one Sort throughout the whole Realm. And thus much concerning Religion, being the first Part.

‘ Now to the Second, that is, Matters of Policy. And herein first for the Government of the Subjects at Home; the Lacks and Defaults whereof; as in Discipline so in this, stand altogether in the Imperfection of Laws, or else the Fearfulness, Slothfulness, and Corruption of Temporal Officers, that ought to see the due Execution of them. For the Help of the former, you are to examine whether any Laws already
ready

‘ ready made, are too sharp or too sore and so over-
 ‘ burthenfome for the Subject, or whether any
 ‘ of them are too loose or too soft, and so over-dan-
 ‘ gerous to the State; for like as the former may
 ‘ put in Danger many an Innocent particularly, so
 ‘ the second may put in Danger both the Nocent
 ‘ and Innocent, and the whole State universally.
 ‘ You are also further to examine the Want and
 ‘ Superfluity of Laws, and whether Craft, Cove-
 ‘ touness, and Malice, have devised any Means to
 ‘ defraud Laws already made, or how to do any
 ‘ Injuries for which there is no Law that hath his
 ‘ Being to reform it: Or whether the Common-
 ‘ weal and State of this Realm, by reason of any
 ‘ Imperfection or Cause, is like to fall to any Dan-
 ‘ ger or Peril; for the greater the Danger is, the
 ‘ greater should the Care and Consideration be for
 ‘ the Remedy of it. You are also to examine
 ‘ whether there are too many Laws for any one
 ‘ Thing, which breedeth so many Doubts, that
 ‘ the Subject is sometimes to seek how to observe
 ‘ them, and the Chancellor how to give Advice
 ‘ concerning them.

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‘ As to the second Imperfection, which is the
 ‘ Want of the due Execution of Laws; because I
 ‘ have thought oft with myself what might be the
 ‘ best Remedy, if not to make all Laws perfectly
 ‘ executed (for that I can hardly hope for) yet to
 ‘ make them in much better Case than now they
 ‘ be. And when I had considered all Things, I
 ‘ could find no Help but this: The First, by hav-
 ‘ ing great Care in the Choice of those Officers
 ‘ that have the Execution of Laws. The Second,
 ‘ to do as much as may be for the banishing of
 ‘ Sloth, Corruption, and Fears, from them. A
 ‘ Third Way there is, which I leave to your
 ‘ Judgments, this it is: There should be a Tri-
 ‘ ennial or Biennial Visitation, in this Nature,
 ‘ made of all the Temporal Officers and Ministers
 ‘ that by virtue of their Office have in Charge to
 ‘ see the Execution of Laws. By this I mean
 ‘ that the Queen’s Majesty should make Choice
 every

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every second or third Year of certain expert and approved Persons, to whom Commission should be granted to try out and examine, by all Ways and Means, the Offences of all such as have not seen to the due Execution of the Laws according to the Offices and Charges committed to them by the Prince. And the Offences so found and certified to be sharply punished without Remission or Redemption. Of Effect much like this, and to the like End, was the Visitation of the Church first devised; whereof, in the Beginning of it, came great Good doubtless; and Reason I see none but the like Good ought to follow upon like Visitation made among Temporal Officers. And the old Commission of Oyer tended somewhat to this End. I doubt certainly if the Laws and Statutes of this Realm should not indifferently, uprightly, and diligently, be put in Execution (as my Trust is they shall) especially in the great and open Courts of this Realm, then my Burthen, I confess, is equal with the greatest; and yet, for my Part, I would gladly every Year hear of, and yield to such a Comptroller.

Now to the last and greatest, which is the Defence against the foreign Enemy abroad, and his Confederates, brought up and bred amongst us ourselves; because these Matters be by reason now chiefly in Hand, and that the Dealings of the outward Enemy be Matters that go to the whole, and that this Presence you know representeth the whole: Therefore in all Congruity it seemeth Reason, that all we, for, and in the Name of the whole, consider carefully of this Cause, and give present Assistance for the Help of it. And to the End you may be more able to give good Counsel and Advice therein, it hath been thought meet I should summarily and shortly make you privy of these Proceedings, which shall be the better understood if I begin at the Root, as I intend:

This it is: The Queen's Majesty, at her coming to the Crown, finding this her Realm in a ragged and torn State, and yet in Wars with a mighty

' mighty Enemy, the chief Fortres of the same Queen Elizabeth.
 ' lost, to the Realm's great Dishonour and Weak- 1572.
 ' ening ; her Frontier Towns not sufficiently for-
 ' tified, the Revenue of the Crown greatly spoiled,
 ' the Treasure of the Realm not only wasted, but
 ' the Realm also greatly indebted : The Land of
 ' *Ireland* much out of Order : The Staple and
 ' Store of all Kind of Munition for the Realm's
 ' Defence marvellously consumed : The Navy and
 ' Sea-Matters nothing in the State they now be,
 ' was forced to give Ear to a Peace with some o-
 ' ther Conditions than else it is like her Highness
 ' would come to, to the End that these dangerous
 ' Defaults might be in the Time of Peace suffici-
 ' ently for the Security of the Realm provided for.
 ' Whereupon indeed her Highness (Peace being
 ' concluded) entered into the reforming and sup-
 ' plying of most of all those great Lacks, and for
 ' the Well-doing of them hath not forbore to take
 ' any Care or Pains, neither hath she sticke for the
 ' compassing of this both to spend her own Trea-
 ' sure, to sell her own Lands, to prove her own
 ' Credit at Home and Abroad to the uttermost,
 ' and all this for our Sureties and Quiet.

' Thus have you heard the Sum of those Pro-
 ' ceedings ; whereby it is plain and evident, that
 ' as our most Dear and Gracious Sovereign Lady,
 ' hath, for the Preservation of Common Quiet, and
 ' for our own Surety against the Common Enemy,
 ' forbore no Care or Travel in the devising ; no
 ' more hath she Charge or Expence in the per-
 ' forming. I may safely affirm it, because I am
 ' well able to prove it, that the Charges of the ma-
 ' naging of these Affairs, and that that hath been
 ' done since the Queen's Majesty came to the
 ' Crown, in supplying the Dangers aforementioned,
 ' amount to as much as two of the greatest
 ' Subsidies that I can remember ; a Matter not
 ' possibly to be borne for that which is past, nor to
 ' be continued for that which is to come by the or-
 ' dinary Revenue of the Crown, and yet of neces-
 ' sity to be done, except all (which God forbid)
 ' should

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‘ should run to Ruin; If when any Part of the
 ‘ Natural Body happeneth to be in Danger, the
 ‘ Head and every Part hasteth to the Relief; what
 ‘ would then be done, trow ye, when Peril is of-
 ‘ fered, that the Head should take the whole Care,
 ‘ and bear the whole Burthen, and all the Mem-
 ‘ bers remain uncareful and uncharged therewith?
 ‘ How light a Burthen it is when it is born of ma-
 ‘ ny, is understood of us all. But hereof I make
 ‘ no Stay, because there is no Doubt your Good-
 ‘ Wills and Towardness upon these Considerati-
 ‘ ons be such, as this last Speech of mine needeth
 ‘ not, and so doubtless the Queen’s Highness taketh
 ‘ it. And yet your Wisdoms well know, that
 ‘ the Office of this Place which I occupy, craveth
 ‘ thus much to be said at my Hands; and for that
 ‘ Purpose chiefly could I trust you take it, and not
 ‘ for any Necessity to draw them by Persuasion
 ‘ that otherwise of their own Disposition be for-
 ‘ ward enough. The Declarations of the Proceed-
 ‘ ings being uttered, I do assure myself to suffice to
 ‘ Men of your Understanding and Inclination.
 ‘ For how can a Man think that any is so void of
 ‘ Reason, that he would not gladly offer any Aid
 ‘ against a Foreign Enemy, that he were able to
 ‘ make for the Safety of his own Country, his So-
 ‘ vereign, himself, his Wife and Children; especi-
 ‘ ally when by Reason it is plain, that the Queen’s
 ‘ Majesty hath already, and daily doth employ her
 ‘ own Treasure, yea, and her Lands and Credit,
 ‘ not in any glorious Triumphs, superfluous and
 ‘ sumptuous Buildings of Delight, vain and charge-
 ‘ able Embassages, neither in any other Matters of
 ‘ Will and Pleasure; I mean, no Expence to be
 ‘ noted in a Prince of thirteen Years Reign, but as
 ‘ far as Man can judge in the Service of her Realm
 ‘ and necessary Defence of her People, and for the
 ‘ Annoyance of the Enemy. Yet hath it been
 ‘ seen e’er this, that Prince’s Wills, Pleasures and
 ‘ Delights have been followed in Expences as Ne-
 ‘ cessities. And now, God be thanked, the Doings
 ‘ have been such since the Queen’s Highness’s
 ‘ Reign

‘ Reign, that to the indifferent Man it will be
 ‘ probable and plain, that the Relieving of the
 ‘ Realm’s Necessity is become the Prince’s Delight ;
 ‘ a good Change, God continue it, a marvellous
 ‘ good Example for us to follow, and yet it is scant
 ‘ credible how long it was, and in the End with
 ‘ what Difficulty the Queen’s Majesty came to a-
 ‘ gree that this Example should be followed by us,
 ‘ in being content that this Parliament should be
 ‘ summoned, that it might be moved, that the
 ‘ Realm might contribute to the Realm’s Defence ;
 ‘ with such Difficulty indeed, that if any other
 ‘ Way could have been devised (her Honour and
 ‘ Realm’s Surety saved) this had never been at-
 ‘ tempted : So loth she is to any offensive Matter
 ‘ by Burthen or Charge, that if any other Way
 ‘ could have been devised, this had not been : And
 ‘ so, from her own Mouth, she commanded me
 ‘ to say unto you.

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‘ Oh what a Grief it is to a Prince (trow you)
 ‘ when he findeth such Want, that he is not able
 ‘ so to consider of the Service of his Servants and
 ‘ Subjects ; this dangerous and necessary Service,
 ‘ as their Deserts do crave ! knowing that most
 ‘ commonly the very Life and Heart of the Ser-
 ‘ vant and Soldier, which so often offereth himself
 ‘ to the Cannon, the Pike, the Fire, is either over-
 ‘ thrown or set up as a Regard is had of his Perils.
 ‘ Except there be some odd Men (as they call them)
 ‘ of that Perfection, that Virtue and Well-Doing
 ‘ is their Mark, and not Reward, who hold for
 ‘ firm, that *Reſti facti Merces est feciſſe tantum*,
 ‘ but *Rara avis in terris, &c.* Yea, those are so
 ‘ rare as Counsel cannot be given that Princes
 ‘ Service should hang on the Help of such Hope,
 ‘ and yet these be the perfectest and best, but the
 ‘ World is not served by such. To give good
 ‘ Words is a good Thing, but often used, albeit
 ‘ never so cunningly, without Deeds of Service, is
 ‘ reputed but as Wind, and is indeed *dare verba*.
 ‘ Marry, Power serving not, then it deserveth
 ‘ great Commendations ; for it is as much as can
 ‘ be

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' be done: For *ultra posse non est esse*. But hereof thinketh little the greatest Number. But to a Prince who thinketh thus much, and daily thinketh and feeleth of it, what a tormenting Trouble is such a Want think ye? These Wants when they happen, would be, ought to be most holden. But here I have troubled you further than I meant, or perchance needed.

' And thus no further to hinder you, but to make an End. You have heard, first, the Causes of this Assembly. Secondly, What I think meet to be remembred. Thirdly, What for the Government of the Subject at Home, and what hath been done for the Defence of the Enemy Abroad; your Office and Duty is to be careful to consider of these Matters, which I have the rather summarily remembred than effectually discourfed upon. The former pertaineth to my Office as a Remembrancer. The second to you as Executors of these Remembrances. And because you of the Nether House cannot, without a Head, thus do; therefore it resteth, that you, according to your antient Order, of yourselves chuse some wise and discreet Man, who, after he hath been by you chosen and presented, and that Presentation by the Queen's Majesty allowed, shall then be your Speaker, &c.'

Robert Bell, Esq;
chosen Speaker.

May the 10th. The House of Commons presented *Robert Bell*, Esq; for their Speaker, who, with the usual Ceremonies, was allowed (a). But no further Notice is taken of the Speeches commonly made on that Occasion.

On *Monday, May* 12th, an Entry is made by the Lords, ' That this Day, by Advice and Consent of the whole House, a Committee was appointed to confer with such Members of the Lower House, as it should please them to appoint, for the more speedy and better Direction of them in the Great Matter touching the Queen
' of

(a) Afterwards knighted, and made Chief-Baron of the Exchequer.
Diar. Procer.

' of Scots.' The Committee consisted of the following Lords; Queen Elizabeth, 1572.

The Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*; the Earls of *Oxford*, *Kent*, *Worcester*, *Suffex*, *Warwick*, *Bedford*, *Leicester*, and *Essex*; the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Ely*, *Lincoln*, and *Rochester*; the Lord Chamberlain *Burleigh*, with the Lords *Grey*, *Windsor*, *Wentworth*, *North*, and *Chandois*. The Place appointed for the Meeting was the Star-Chamber, at eight o'Clock the next Morning.

In the *Journal* of the Commons are the Names of the Committee appointed by them, which were these; Proceedings on the Affair of Mary Queen of Scots.

Mr. Treasurer.	Mr. Popham.
Mr. Comptroller.	Mr. Yelverton.
Mr. Chancellor of the	Mr. Coleby.
Dutchy.	Mr. Heneage.
The Chancellor of the	Mr. Charles Howard.
Exchequer.	Mr. Hatton.
The Lord Deputy of	Mr. Astley.
Ireland.	Mr. Shute.
Sir Maurice Berkeley.	Mr. Hen. Knolles, sen.
Sir Hugh Pawlet.	Mr. Hen. Knolles, jun.
Sir Thomas Scott.	Mr. Peter Wentworth.
Sir Owen Hopton.	Mr. Sampole.
Sir Nicholas Arnold.	Mr. Norton.
Sir John Thynne.	Mr. William Moor.
Sir Hen. Gates.	Mr. John Vaughan.
Sir Rowland Howard.	Mr. Tho. Randall.
Mr. Doctor Wilson.	Mr. John Vaughan of
Mr. Attorney of the	Caermarthen.
Duchy.	Mr. Greenfield, sen.
Mr. Recorder of London.	Mr. Charles Somerset.
Mr. Serjeant Manwood.	Mr. Hen. Killagrew.
Mr. Serjeant Geffry.	Mr. William Gerrard.
Mr. Mounson.	Mr. Dalton, and
Mr. Sandys.	Mr. Peacock.

We hear no more of this Conference in the *Journals* of the Lords, nor what was done in it, relating, particularly, to the Queen of Scots, 'till May the 28th, when a new Committee of Lords was ap-

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pointed, about the same Matter, which were only the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earls of *Sussex* and *Leicester*, the Bishop of *Lincoln*, and the Lords *Burleigh* and *Grey*. The Result of which was, that, on the last Day of the same Month, a Bill was brought in, and read a first Time, touching *Mary*, the late *Scottish* Queen. *June* the 4th, the Bill was read a third Time, and passed the House of Lords, with this Addition to the Title, *A Bill touching Mary, Daughter and Heir of James the Fifth, late King of Scotland, commonly called the Queen of Scots*. This Bill was sent down to the Commons, who kept it until the 26th of the same Month, and then returned it, concluded. But tho' the Bill went so currently thro' the two Houses, the Queen would not suffer it to pass into a Law; there being no Mention of such an Act, in the Catalogue at the End of this Session, nor in the printed *Statutes*. For which Reason, we are much in the Dark what were the Contents of this extraordinary Bill. Mr *Cambden* only writes, that, at the End of the last Parliament, (but mistakenly for this;) 'It was proposed, that if the Queen of *Scots* should, again, offend against the Laws of *England*, she should be proceeded against, by Law, as if she were the Wife of an *English* Peer. But the Queen, interposing her Authority, prevented the enacting thereof (b).'

However, tho' this Act did not pass, yet there were two other very severe Laws made against all who had Designs in Favour of the Queen of *Scots*. On the 19th of *May* a Bill was read the first Time in the House of Lords, for Punishment of all such as shall rebelliously take or detain, from the Queen's Majesty, any Castle, Tower, Fortrefs, Ships, or other Munition of War. This passed into a Law; and, by it, some of the Articles were made Felony, and others High Treason. On the 21st, a Bill was brought in, and read against all such as shall conspire or practise the Enlargement of any Prisoners. This Act

(b) *Cambden* in *Kennet*, p. 436.

Act declared, ' That if any Person should go about Queen Elizabeth.
 ' to deliver any Man, imprisoned upon the Queen's 1572.
 ' Writ for Treason, or Suspicion of Treason, be-
 ' fore his Arraignment, the said Person should for-
 ' feit his Life Estate, and be imprisoned during the
 ' Queen's Pleasure. If arraigned, he should incur
 ' the Penalty of Death; if condemned, the Penal-
 ' ty of High Treason.'

Mr. *Cambden* observes (c), that the Severity of these Laws was only necessary for the Times; and the Parliament thought fit to make them temporary, that is, for the Queen's Life. He adds, that so many Designs were set on Foot to deliver the Duke of *Norfolk*, out of the *Tower*, as hastned his Execution, which had been put off for near four Months; and it was not 'till after passing the last Act, that the Addresses of the House of Commons, the Remonstrances of the Privy Council, and the Importunity of Preachers, by suggesting the Greatness of the Danger she was in, could overcome the Queen's Clemency. In fine, the Duke was beheaded on a The Duke of Scaffold, on *Tower-Hill*, *June* the 2d: He died Norfolk be- with great Courage and Magnanimity, amidst a headed. vast Crowd of sorrowful and weeping Spectators; for it is incredible, says our Author, ' how dearly he was beloved by the Populace; whose Good-Will he had gained by a Munificence and Affability suitable to so great a Prince.' It is probable the Queen was satisfied with this Sacrifice, alone, for we find no Act to attain his Blood or Posterity passed; a Circumstance we have never observed before in Cases of the like Nature.

At this Time the Nation was exceedingly pestered with Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars, by whom several Murders, Thefts, and other great Outrages were committed (d). It was therefore enacted, by this Parliament, that every Person, above the Age of fourteen, being taken begging, or wandering about as a Vagrant, for the first Time,

M 2 should

(c) *Cambden* in *Kennet*, p. 440.

(d) *Hollingshead's Chron.* p. 1228.

Statutes at large, 14 ELIZ. C. V.

Queen Elizabeth. should be burned thro' the Gristle of the Right Ear
1572. with a hot Iron of an Inch Compass, &c.

A Case of Privilege.

It seems as if this Parliament was called only to give a Sanction to the Duke's Execution; for the Session was but short; about six Weeks, and no Act of any Consequence, except what are before mentioned, passed in it. A Case of Privilege was brought before the House of Lords, by the Lord *Cromwell*, who had been attached, by a Writ, out of Chancery, at the Suit of one *Taverner*. The Lords adjudged the Attachment void and contrary to the antient Privileges of the Peerage; but so, that at any Time hereafter, by the Queen's Prerogative, or by the common Law and Custom of the Realms, or any Statute Law, or sufficient President, the Persons of any of the Lords of Parliament, in such Cases as this of Lord *Cromwell's*, ought to be attached, or attachable, if so shewed and warranted as above; this Order, or any Thing therein contained, to the contrary notwithstanding,

Having done with the Proceedings of the Lords, we must go back, as usual, to those of the Commons. After the Committee for the Conference was appointed, we find no Particulars entered, relating to it, 'till some Weeks afterwards, which will appear in the Sequel. In the mean Time, on the 16th of *May*, a Motion was made in the House, 'Whether it was convenient that the Commons should join with the Lords in a Petition to her Majesty, for the Execution of the Duke of *Norfolk*. Or, that they should only signify to her Majesty, their Resolution and Opinion that necessary Execution was to be done? 'Upon putting the Question, it was agreed by all, that their general Resolution was properest to be signified to her; and not by Way of Petition or Direction from this House.

On the 19th, the Attorney of the Court of Wards, in the Name of the whole Committee, on the Great Affair of the Queen of *Scots*, reported to the House their Conference with the Lords. Which done, after many Speeches, it was upon the Question, resolved, for the better Safety and Preservation

servation of her Majesty's Person and Government, Queen Elizabeth. 1572.
to proceed against the *Scottish* Queen in the highest Degree of Treason ; and therein to touch her, as well in Life as in Title and Dignity ; and this with all possible Speed, and with the whole Voice of the House.

The *Annalist* of the *Reformation*, under this Queen, hath given us a very warm and long Speech, made against this unhappy Lady and her Title to the *English* Crown, by an anonymous Member of the House of Commons ; but, at what Time he does not mention. He is mistaken also in placing this Speech in the Debates of the last Parliament, instead of this ; for the Affair had not then a Parliamentary Inquiry into it. This Author transcribed it from a Manuscript in the *Cotton Library* (e). It is observable, that the Stream ran all one Way at this Time ; the poor Queen of *Scots* having not one Friend, or Advocate, either within Doors or without, that durst endeavour to stem the Tide, or, openly, to say one Word in her Favour.

A Bill for Rites and Ceremonies in the Church, A Message to the Commons, not to meddle with Religious Matters.
had been read in the House three Times ; when, on *May* the 22d, the Speaker declared to the House, that it was her Majesty's Pleasure, that from henceforth no Bills concerning Religion should be preferred, or received into this House ; unless the same should be first considered and approved by the Clergy. And further, that her Majesty desired to see the two last, read in the House, touching Rites and Ceremonies. On which, it was order'd, that the said Bills should be delivered to her, by such Members as were of the Privy-Council.

' The next Day the Treasurer of the Household reported to the House the Delivery of the two Bills of Rites and Ceremonies to her Majesty ; together with the humble Request of this House, most humbly to beseech her Highness not to conceive ill Opinion of this House, if so it were that her Majesty

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should

(e) *Strype's Appendix*, Vol. II. p. 9. *ad Finem*.

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should not like well of the said Bills, or of the Parties that preferred them. And declared further, that her Majesty seemed utterly to dislike the first Bill, and him that brought the same into the House; and that her Highness express Will and Pleasure was, that no Preacher or Minister should be impeached or indicted, or otherwise molested or troubled, as the Preamble of the said Bill did purport: Adding these comfortable Words farther, that her Majesty, as Defender of the Faith, will aid and maintain all good Protestants to the discouraging of all Papists.

The Business of the Queen of Scots and the unfortunate Duke of Norfolk, having been long canvassed by the Committees of both Houses; they, at length agreed upon a joint Petition to the Queen. And, on the 28th of May, her Majesty was attended by the said Committees, who presented her a Petition with Reasons to prove, that it not only consisted with Justice, but also with the Queen's Honour and Safety, to proceed Criminally against the *pretended Scottish Queen* (f).

On the same Day, as it seems, the *Journalist* tells us, 'That Mr. Treasurer reported to the House, that he and certain others of the Committee, chosen by themselves, did presently come from her Majesty; and that her Majesty doth very thankfully accept the Good-Will and Zeal of this House, in their Carefulness for her Majesty's Safety and Preservation; and that as her Majesty thinketh the Course chosen by this House, and wherein the Lords have joined with this House, to be the best and surest Way for her Majesty's Preservation and Safety indeed; yet her Highness for certain Respects by herself conceived, thinketh good for this Time to defer, but not to reject that Course of Proceeding as yet; and in the mean Time, with all convenient Speed, to go forward in the great Matter against the *Scottish Queen* with a second Bill, being the other Part of the said Choice heretofore offered to this House.

(f) See the Petition and Reasons in *D'Ewes's Journals*, p. 215 et Seq;

House. And that her Majesty minding in that Bill, Queen Elizabeth.
1572. by any Implication or Drawing of Words, not to have the *Scottish* Queen either enabled or disabled to or from any Manner of Title to the Crown of this Realm, or any other Title to the same whatsoever touched at all, willeth that the Bill be first drawn by her Learned Counsel, and by them penned before the same be treated of or dealt in, in this House. And that in the mean Time of bringing in of the said Bill, this House enter not into any Speeches or Arguments of that Matter. And that her Majesty hath likewise signified the same her like Pleasure unto the Lords of the Upper-House, by some of the Committees of the same House.

The Commons came to a Resolution on the Question, Whether a Petition was to be drawn up and presented to her Majesty, for the speedy Execution of the Duke? That the said Petition should be digested and put in Writing against the next Morning, and delivered to the Speaker to be presented by him to the Queen. But two Days after, *May* 31st, a Question was put for respiting the said Petition, and, it was carried in the Affirmative. 'Because, perhaps, her Majesty will order it to be done sooner of her own Accord than being pressed to it by the House. And therefore it was wholly laid aside.' But, however, the Bills and Remonstrances against the Queen of *Scots*, took no Effect till several Years after. The Duke of *Norfolk*, however, fell a Sacrifice to the Jealousies of the Times, being beheaded, as before observ'd, whilst this Parliament was sitting.

The Ceremonies at the Conclusion of this Session are omitted, thro' the Negligence of the Clerks, in both the *Journals*. And, we are only told, in that of the Lords, That, on the 30th Day of *June*, the Queen came to the House, when the Lord-Keeper, by her Command, prorogued this Parliament to the Feast of *All Saints*, *November* 2d, following.

The Parliamentary History of this Reign, would be very concise, considering the Duration of it, if
we

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Queen Elizabeth. we had no other Tracts to follow than what are
1575. shewn by the particular Historian of it, or our more
general Histories of *England*.

Mr. *Cambden* takes little or no Notice of the Proceedings of any Parliament from this Period ; but has contented himself in attending his Royal Mistress thro' the various Foreign Confederacies, Wars, Marine-Expeditions, and Love-Affairs of her Reign. Indeed there never was a Time, when Parliaments met so seldom ; and, it seems, as if this Heroic Queen meant to shew her Subjects, that she could reign without their Aid and Assistance. For, from the Time of the last Prorogation, we meet with nothing like a Parliament 'till the eighteenth Year of this Reign.

The *Journals* of the Lords do not expressly give us the Times of the several Prorogations, in this Interval ; but only inform us, that on the 8th Day of *February*, in the Year above mentioned, after various and sundry Prorogations, the same Parliament met to do Business (g).

Anno Regni 18.

1575.

At Westminster.

A Bill against
Luxury in Appa-
rel,

Being assembled, the Queen came not to the House, because this was no new Parliament ; and the first Thing we find that was done by the Lords, was to read a Bill for the Reformation of Apparel. Mr *Cambden* takes Notice (h), that the Year before this, the Queen had put out a Proclamation to stop the great Excess this modish Luxury had then arrived to. Observing, that, to maintain this Shining Vanity, a great Quantity of Money was yearly carried out of the Land, to buy Silks and other foreign Fineries, to the Impoverishment of the Commonwealth, and the almost Ruin of several noble Families, who strove to vie with one another in this Kind of Extravagance. The Reader might observe, that several Sumptuary Laws, were made in different Reigns, to restrain this Vice ; and now the Queen's Proclamation being little regarded,
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(g) *Post varias et diversas Prorogationes.*

(h) P. 452. A. 1574.

an Act of Parliament was designed to enforce the Observance. But this Way had as little Success as the former, for tho' the Bill passed the House of Lords, and was sent down to the Commons, they never returned it. Probably, because an Act of this Nature might be an Hindrance to Trade; and, indeed, if the Restraint of this Luxury was agreeable to the honest Politics of those Times, it has been thought quite otherwise in some much later Reigns. When Equipages, Operas, Masquerades, Dress, Vanities of all Sorts, were never so much encouraged: Whereby the Nobility and Gentry, exhausting their own Estates, become more subservient to, and dependent on, the Crown.

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1575.

On the same Day, *Feb. 8th*, *Henry*, Earl of *Northumberland*, younger Brother to the late Earl *Thomas*, beheaded at *York*, had a Summons to Parliament, and took his Place in the House, with some other young Lords, who were introduced at the same Time. Amongst whom was *John* Lord *Stourton*, called up by Writ; tho' the Attainder of his Father, (who was executed in the last Reign for an infamous Murder) was only reversed this Parliament.

There is nothing remarkable, else, entered in the Lords *Journals*, till the 27th of this Month; when a Bill for a *Subsidy* of two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths* were sent up by the Commons; it passed the House of Lords on the first of *March*. The printed Statutes make this Grant three *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, besides the *Subsidy*. There was, also, an Act for confirming a Grant of Six Shillings in the Pound, from the Clergy, to be paid in three Years.

A Subsidy.

But tho' the *Journals* of the Lords furnish us with so little to the Purpose, those of the Commons were never more copious, for so short a Session, as in this. In which are many Things very remarkable, relating to the Liberties and Privileges of that House. The *Journalist* gives us a Speech made, the very first Day of this Session, by *Peter Wentworth*, Esq; Member for the Borough of *Tregony* in *Cornwal*, which

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which evidently shews that all the *Cornish* Members were not Courtiers in those Days. The Speech and the Consequences of it are as memorable, as any Thing we have yet met with in the Course of these Enquiries; and therefore needs no Introduction, nor any Excuse for the Length of it.

Mr. Speaker,

Mr Wentworth's
Speech in behalf
of the Liberties
of the House.

I find written in a little Volume these Words in effect: "Sweet is the Name of Liberty, but the Thing itself a Value beyond all inestimable Treasure." So much the more it behoveth us to take care lest we, contenting ourselves with the Sweetness of the Name, lose and forego the Thing, being of the greatest Value that can come unto this noble Realm. The inestimable Treasure is the Use of it in this House. And therefore I do think it needful to put you in Remembrance, that this Honourable Assembly are assembled and come together herein this Place, for three special Causes of most weighty and great Importance.

The first and principal is to make and abrogate such Laws, as may be most for the Preservation of our noble Sovereign.

The second

The third is to make or abrogate such Laws as may be to the chiefest Surety, Safe-keeping, and Enrichment of this noble Realm of *England*. So that I do think that the Part of a faithful-hearted Subject is, to do his Endeavour to remove all Stumbling-Blocks out of the Way that may impair, or any manner of way hinder, these good and godly Causes of this our coming together. I was never of Parliament but the last, and the last Session, at both which Times I saw the Liberty of free Speech, the which is the only Salve to heal all the Sores of this Common-wealth, so much and so many Ways infringed, and so many Abuses offered to this Honourable Council, as hath much grieved me even of very Conscience and Love to my Prince and State. Wherefore to avoid the like, I do think it expedient to open the
Com-

Commodities that grow to the Prince and whole State, by free Speech used in this Place; at the least so much as my simple Wit can gather of it, the which is very little in respect of that, that wise Heads can say therein, and so it is of the more Force.

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First, All Matters that concern God's Honour, through free Speech shall be propagated here and set forward, and all Things that do hinder it removed, repulsed and taken away.

Next, There is nothing commodious, profitable, or any way beneficial for the Prince or State, but faithful and loving Subjects will offer it in this Place.

Thirdly, All Things discommodious, perilous or hurtful to the Prince or State shall be prevented, even so much as seemeth good to our merciful God to put into our Minds, the which no doubt shall be sufficient, if we do earnestly call upon him and fear him: For Solomon saith, *The Fear of God is the Beginning of Wisdom. Wisdom, saith he, breatheth Life into her Children, receiveth them that seek her, and will go beside them in the Way of Righteousness:* So that our Minds shall be directed to all good, needful and necessary Things, if we call upon God with faithful Hearts.

Fourthly, If the Envious do offer any Thing hurtful or perilous to the Prince or State in this Place, What Incommodity doth grow thereby? Verily I think none, nay, will you have me to say my simple Opinion therein, much Good cometh thereof; how forsooth? why by the Darkeness of the Night the Brightness of the Sun sheweth more excellent and clear, and how can Truth appear and conquer until Falshood, and all Subtilties that should shadow and darken it, be found out? for it is offered in this Place as a Piece of fine Needle-work to them that are most skilful therein, for there cannot be a false Stitch (God aiding us) but will be found out.

Fifthly,

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' Fifthly, This Good cometh thereof, a wicked Purpose may the easier be prevented when it is known.

' Sixthly, An evil Man can do the less Harm when it is known.

' Seventhly, Sometime it happeneth that a good Man will in this Place (for Argument Sake) prefer an evil Cause, both for that he would have a doubtful Truth to be opened and manifested, and also the Evil prevented; so that to this Point I conclude, that in this House, which is termed a Place of free Speech, there is nothing so necessary for the Preservation of the Prince and State as free Speech; and without this it is a Scorn and Mockery to call it a Parliament House, for in Truth it is none, but a very School of Flattery and Diffimulation; and so a fit Place to serve the Devil and his Angels in, and not to glorify God and benefit the Common-wealth.

' Now to the Impediments thereof, which, by God's Grace and my little Experience, I will utter plainly and faithfully, I will use the Words of *Elcha, Behold, I am as the new Wine which hath no Vent, and bursteth the new Vessels in sunder, therefore I will speak that I may have a Vent. I will open my Lips, and make Answer, I will regard no Manner of Person, no Man will I spare, for if I should go about to please Men, I know not how soon my Maker will take me away: My Text is vehement, the which by God's Sufferance I mean to observe, hoping therewith to offend none; for that of very Justice, none ought to be offended for seeking to do good and saying of the Truth.*

' Amongst other, Mr. Speaker, Two Things do great Hurt in this Place, of the which I do mean to speak: The one is a Rumour which runneth about the House, and this it is, 'Take heed what you do, the Queen's Majesty liketh not such a Matter, whosoever prefereth it, she will be offended with him; or the contrary; her Majesty liketh

liketh of such a Matter, whosoever speaketh against it, she will be much offended with him.' Queen Elizabeth.
1575.

The other : Sometimes a Message is brought into the House, either of Commanding or Inhibiting, very injurious to the Freedom of Speech and Consultation. I would to God, Mr Speaker, that these two were buried in Hell, I mean Rumours and Messages ; for wicked undoubtedly they are, the Reason is, the Devil was the first Author of them, from whom proceedeth nothing but Wickedness : Now I will set down Reasons to prove them wicked.

First, If we be in Hand with any Thing for the Advancement of God's Glory, were it not wicked to say the Queen liketh not of it, or commandeth that we shall not deal in it ? Greatly were these Speeches to her Majesty's Dishonour, and an hard Opinion were it, Mr Speaker, that these Things should enter into her Majesty's Thought ; much more wicked and unnatural were it that her Majesty should like or command any thing against God, or hurtful to herself and the State. The Lord grant this Thing may be far from her Majesty's Heart. Here this may be objected, that if the Queen's Majesty should have Intelligence of any thing perilous or beneficial to her Majesty's Person or the State, would you not have her Majesty give Knowledge thereof in this House, whereby her Peril may be prevented, and her Benefit provided for ? God forbid, then were her Majesty in worse Case than any of her Subjects. And, in the Beginning of our Speech, I shewed it to be a special Cause of our Assembling, but my Intent is, That nothing should be done to God's Dishonour, to her Majesty's Peril, or the Peril of the State. And therefore I will shew the Inconveniences that grow of these two.

First, If we follow not the Prince's Mind, Solomon saith, *The King's Displeasure is a Messenger of Death* : This is a terrible Thing to weak Nature, for who is able to abide the fierce Countenance of his

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1575.

his Prince, but if we will discharge our Consciences, and be true to God, and Prince and State, we must have due Consideration of the Place and the Occasion of our coming together; and especially have Regard unto the Matter wherein we both shall serve God, and our Prince and State faithfully, and not dissembling as Eye-Pleasers, and so justly avoid all Displeasures both to God and our Prince; for *Solomon* saith, *In the Way of the Righteous there is Life*, as for any other Way, it is the Path to Death. So that to avoid everlasting Death and Condemnation, with the High and Mighty God, we ought to proceed in every Cause according to the Matter, and not according to the Prince's Mind: And now I will shew you a Reason to prove it perilous always to follow the Princes Mind. Many Times it falleth out, that a Prince may favour a Cause perilous to himself and the whole State; What are we then if we follow the Princes Mind? Are we not unfaithful unto God, our Prince and State? Yes truly, we are chosen of the whole Realm, of a special Trust and Confidence by them reposed in us, to forsee all such Inconveniences. Then I will set down my Opinion herein, that is to say, He that dissembleth to her Majesty's Peril, is to be counted as a hateful Enemy; for that he giveth unto her Majesty a detestable *Judas* his Kiss; and he that contrarieth her Mind to her Preservation, yea though her Majesty would be much offended with him, is to be adjudged an approved Lover, for *faithful are the Wounds of a Lover*, saith *Solomon*, but *the Kisses of an Enemy are deceitful*: And it is better, saith *Antisthenes*, to fall amongst Ravens than amongst Flatterers, for Ravens do but devour the dead Corps, but Flatterers the Living. And it is both traiterous and hellish, through Flattery, to seek to devour our natural Prince, and that do Flatterers; therefore let them leave it with Shame enough.

Now

' Now to another great Matter that riseth of this Queen Elizabeth.
 ' grievous Rumour, What is it forsooth? What- 1575.
 ' soever thou art that pronouncest it, thou dost pro-
 ' nounce thy own Discredit; Why so? for that
 ' thou dost what lieth in thee to pronounce the
 ' Prince to be perjured, the which we neither may
 ' nor will believe; for we ought not without too
 ' too manifest Proof to credit any Dishonour to
 ' our Anointed; no, we ought not without it to
 ' think any Evil of her Majesty, but rather to hold
 ' him a Liar what Credit soever he be of; for the
 ' Queen's Majesty is the Head of the Law, and
 ' must of Necessity maintain the Law; for by the
 ' Law her Majesty is made justly our Queen, and
 ' by it she is most chiefly maintained: Hereunto
 ' agreeth the most excellent Words of *Bracton* (i),
 ' who saith, *The King hath no Peer nor Equal in his*
 ' *Kingdom*: He hath no Equal, for otherwise he
 ' might lose his Authority of Commanding,
 ' since that an Equal hath no Power of Com-
 ' mandment over his Equal. The King ought
 ' not to be under Man, but under God, and under
 ' the Law, because the Law maketh him a King.
 ' Let the King therefore attribute that to the Law,
 ' which the Law attributeth unto him, that is, Do-
 ' minion and Power; for he is not a King in whom
 ' Will and not the Law doth rule, and therefore
 ' he ought to be under the Law. I pray you mark
 ' the Reason why my Authority saith, The King
 ' ought to be under the Law, for, saith he, *He is*
 ' *God's Vicegerent upon Earth*; that is, his Lieu-
 ' tenant to execute and do his Will, the which is
 ' Law or Justice, and thereunto was her Majesty
 ' sworn at her Coronation, as I have heard learned
 ' Men in this Place sundry Times affirm; unto
 ' the which I doubt not but her Majesty will, for
 ' her Honour and Conscience Sake, have Special
 ' Regard; for free Speech and Conscience in this
 ' Place are granted by a Special Law, as that with-
 ' out the which the Prince and State cannot be pre-
 served

(i) *Bracton de Legibus Angliae, Lib. 1. Cap. 7,*

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‘ served or maintained. So that I would wish every Man that searcheth God, regardeth the Princes Honour, or esteemeth his own Credit, to fear at all Times hereafter to pronounce any such horrible Speeches, so much to the Princes Dishonour; for in so doing he sheweth himself an open Enemy to her Majesty, and so worthy to be contemned of all faithful Hearts. Yet there is another Inconvenience that riseth of this wicked Rumour: The Utterers thereof seem to put into our Heads, That the Queen’s Majesty hath conceived an evil Opinion, Diffidence and Mistrust in us her faithful and loving Subjects; for if she had not, her Majesty would then wish that all the Things dangerous to herself should be laid open before us; assuring herself, that loving Subjects, as we are, would, without Schooling and Direction, with careful Minds to our Powers, prevent and withstand all Perils that might happen unto her Majesty. And this Opinion I doubt not but her Majesty hath conceived of us, for undoubtedly there was never Prince that had faithfuller Hearts than her Majesty hath here; and surely there were never Subjects had more Cause heartily to love their Prince for her quiet Government than we have. So that he that raiseth this Rumour, still encreaseth but Discredit in seeking to sow Sedition as much as lieth in him, between our merciful Queen and us her most loving and faithful Subjects, the which by God’s Grace shall never lie in his Power, let him spit out all his Venome, and there withal shew out his malicious Heart; yet I have collected sundry Reasons to prove this a hateful and a detestable Rumour, and the Utterer thereof to be a very *Judas* to our noble Queen; therefore let any hereafter take heed how he publish it, for as a very *Judas* unto her Majesty, and an Enemy to the whole State, we ought to accept him.

‘ Now the other was a Message, Mr Speaker, brought the last Session into the House, that we should not deal in any Matters of Religion, but first

* first to receive from the Bishops: Surely this was Queen Elizabeth:
 * a doleful Message, for it was as much as to say, Sirs, 1575.
 * ye shall not deal in God's Causes, no, ye shall in
 * nowise seek to advance his Glory; and in Recompence
 * of your Unkindness, God in his Wrath
 * will look upon your Doings, that the chief Cause
 * that ye were called together for, the which is the
 * Preservation of their Prince, shall have no good
 * Success: If some one of this House had presently
 * made this Interpretation of this said Message,
 * had he not seemed to have the Spirit of Prophecy?
 * Yet truly I assure you, Mr. Speaker, there
 * were divers of this House that said with grievous
 * Hearts, immediately upon the Message, that
 * God of his Justice could not prosper the Session;
 * and let it be holden for a Principle, Mr. Speaker,
 * that Council that cometh not together in God's
 * Name, cannot prosper; for God saith, *Where*
 * *two or three are gathered together in his Name,*
 * *there am I in the midst among them:* Well, God
 * even the great and mighty God, whose Name is
 * the Lord of Hosts, great in Counsel, and infinite
 * in Thought, and who is the only good Director
 * of all Hearts, was the last Session shut out of
 * Doors: But what fell out of it forsooth? His
 * great Indignation was therefore poured upon this
 * House, for he did put into the Queen's Majesty's
 * Heart to refuse good and wholesome Laws for
 * her own Preservation; the which caused many
 * faithful Hearts for Grief to burst out with sorrowful
 * Tears, and moved all Papists, Traitors to
 * God and her Majesty, who envy good Christian
 * Government, in their Sleeves to laugh all the
 * whole Parliament-House to Scorn: And shall I
 * pass over this weighty Matter so slightly? Nay,
 * I will discharge my Conscience and Duties to
 * God, my Prince and Country. So certain it is,
 * Mr. Speaker, that none is without Fault, no not
 * our noble Queen, sith then her Majesty hath
 * committed great Fault, yea dangerous Faults to
 * herself.

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‘ Love, even perfect Love void of Dissimulation,
 ‘ will not suffer me to hide them, to her Majesty’s
 ‘ Peril, but to utter them to her Majesty’s Safety :
 ‘ And these they are, it is a dangerous Thing in a
 ‘ Prince unkindly to abuse his or her Nobility and
 ‘ People, and it is a dangerous Thing in a Prince to
 ‘ oppose or bend herself against her Nobility and
 ‘ People, yea against most loving and faithful No-
 ‘ bility and People. And how could any Prince
 ‘ more unkindly intreat, abuse, oppose herself a-
 ‘ gainst her Nobility and People, than her Majesty
 ‘ did the last Parliament? Did she not call it of
 ‘ Purpose to prevent traiterous Perils to her Person,
 ‘ and for no other Cause? Did not her Majesty
 ‘ send unto us two Bills, willing us to make choice
 ‘ of that we liked best for her Safety, and thereof
 ‘ to make a Law, promising her Majesty’s Royal
 ‘ Consent thereunto? And did we not first chuse
 ‘ the one, and her Majesty refused it; yielding no
 ‘ Reason, nay, yielding great Reasons why she
 ‘ ought to have yielded to it? Yet did we never-
 ‘ theless receive the other, and agreeing to make
 ‘ a Law thereof, Did not her Majesty in the End
 ‘ refuse all our Travels? And did not we, her
 ‘ Majesty’s faithful Nobility and Subjects, plainly
 ‘ and openly decypher ourselves unto her Majesty
 ‘ and our hateful Enemies; and hath not her Ma-
 ‘ jesty left us all open to their Revenge? Is this a
 ‘ just Recompence in our Christian Queen for our
 ‘ faithful Dealings? The Heathen do requite Good
 ‘ for Good, Then how much more is it to be ex-
 ‘ pected in a Christian Prince? And will not this
 ‘ her Majesty’s Handling think you, Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ make cold Dealing in any of her Majesty’s Sub-
 ‘ jects toward her again? I fear it will. And
 ‘ hath it not caused many already think you, Mr.
 ‘ Speaker, to seek a Salve for the Head that they
 ‘ have broken? I fear it hath, and many more
 ‘ will do the like if it be not prevented in Time.
 ‘ And hath it not marvellously rejoiced and encou-
 ‘ raged the hollow Hearts of her Majesty’s hateful
 ‘ Enemies and traiterous Subjects? No doubt but
 ‘ it

' it hath: And I beseech God that her Majesty
 ' may do all Things that may grieve the Hearts of
 ' her Enemies, and may joy the Hearts that un-
 ' feignedly love her Majesty: And I beseech the
 ' same God to endue her Majesty with his Wisdom,
 ' whereby she may discern faithful Advice from
 ' traiterous sugared Speeches, and to send her Ma-
 ' jesty a melting yielding Heart unto sound Coun-
 ' sel, that Will may not stand for a Reason: And
 ' then her Majesty will stand when her Enemies
 ' are fallen, for no Estate can stand where the
 ' Prince will not be governed by Advice. And I
 ' doubt not but that some of her Majesty's Coun-
 ' cil have dealt plainly and faithfully with her Ma-
 ' jesty herein; if any have, let it be a sure Token
 ' to her Majesty to know them for approved Sub-
 ' jects; and whatsoever they be that did persuade
 ' her Majesty so unkindly to intreat, abuse, and
 ' to oppose herself against her Nobility and People;
 ' or commend her Majesty for so doing, let it be
 ' a sure Token to her Majesty to know them for
 ' sure Traitors and Underminers of her Majesty's
 ' Life, and remove them out of her Majesty's
 ' Presence and Favour; for the more cunning they
 ' are, the more dangerous are they unto her Ma-
 ' jesty. But was this all? No, for God would
 ' not vouchsafe that his Holy Spirit should all that
 ' Session descend upon our Bishops; so that in that
 ' Session nothing was done to the Advancement of
 ' his Glory. I have heard of old Parliament-Men,
 ' that the Banishment of the *Pope* and *Popery*, and
 ' the Restoring of true Religion had their Be-
 ' ginning from this House, and not from the Bi-
 ' shops; and I have heard that few Laws for Religi-
 ' on had their Foundation from them; and I do
 ' surely think, before God I speak it, that the Bi-
 ' shops were the Cause of that doleful Message;
 ' and I will shew you what moveth me so to think:
 ' I was, amongst others, the last Parliament, sent
 ' unto the Bishop of *Canterbury*, for the Articles
 ' of Religion that then passed this House. He asked
 ' us, Why we did put out of the Book the Articles

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for the Homilies, Consecrating of Bishops, and
such like? Surely, Sir, said I, because we were
so occupied in other Matters, that we had no
Time to examine them how they agreed with the
Word of God: What, said he, surely you mis-
took the Matter, you will refer yourselves whol-
ly to us therein? No, by the Faith I bear to
God, said I, we will pass nothing before we un-
derstand what it is; for that were but to make
you *Popes*; make you *Popes* who list, said I, for
we will make you none. And sure, Mr. Speaker,
the Speech seemed to me to be a *Pope-like* Speech,
and I fear lest our Bishops do attribute this of the
Pope's Canons unto themselves, *Papa non potest*
errare; for surely if they did not, they would
reform Things amiss, and not to spurn against
God's People for writing therein as they do; but
I can tell them News, they do but kick against
the Pricks, for undoubtedly they both have, and
do err, and God will reveal his Truth, maugre
the Hearts of them and all his Enemies, for great
is the Truth, and it will prevail: And to say
the Truth, it is an Error to think that God's
Spirit is tied only to them; for the Heavenly Spi-
rit saith, *First seek the Kingdom of God and the*
Righteousness thereof, and all these Things (mean-
ing temporal) *shall be given you*: These Words
were not spoken to the Bishops only, but to all;
and the Writ, Mr. Speaker, that we are called
up by, is chiefly to deal in God's Cause; so that
our Commission both from God, and our Prince,
is to deal in God's Causes: Therefore the accep-
ting of such Messages, and taking them in good
Part, do highly offend God, and is the Accepta-
tion of the Breach of the Liberties of this Ho-
nourable Council; for is it not all one Thing to
say, Sirs, you shall deal in such Matters only, as
to say, you shall not deal in such Matters? and
so as good to have Fools and Flatterers in the
House, as Men of Wisdom, grave Judgment,
faithful Hearts, and sincere Consciences; for they
being taught what they shall do, can give their
Con-

‘ Consents as well as the others: Well, *He that* Queen Elizabeth.
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 ‘ *hath an Office*, saith St. Paul, *let him wait on his*
 ‘ *Office*, or give diligent Attendance upon his Of-
 ‘ fice. It is a great and special Part of our Duty
 ‘ and Office, Mr. Speaker, to maintain the Free-
 ‘ dom of Consultation and Speech; for by this,
 ‘ good Laws that do set forth God’s Glory, and for
 ‘ the Preservation of the Prince and State are made.
 ‘ St. Paul in the same Place saith, *Hate that which*
 ‘ *is evil, cleave unto that which is good*: Then
 ‘ with St. Paul, I do advise you all here present,
 ‘ yea, and heartily and earnestly desire you from
 ‘ the Bottom of your Hearts, to hate all Messen-
 ‘ gers, Tale-Carriers, or any other Thing what-
 ‘ soever it be that any manner of way infringes
 ‘ the Liberties of this Honourable Council; yea,
 ‘ hate it or them as venomous and Poison unto our
 ‘ Common-Wealth, for they are venomous Beasts
 ‘ that do use it; therefore I say again and again,
 ‘ *Hate that which is evil, and cleave unto that*
 ‘ *which is good*; and this, being loving and faithful
 ‘ hearted, I do wish to be conceived in Fear of
 ‘ God, and of Love to our Prince and State; for
 ‘ we are incorporated into this Place, to serve God
 ‘ and all *England*, and not to be Time-Servers, as
 ‘ Humour-feeders, as Cancers that would pierce the
 ‘ Bone, or as Flatterers that would fain beguile all
 ‘ the World, and so worthy to be condemned both
 ‘ of God and Man; but let us shew ourselves a
 ‘ People endued with Faith, I mean with a lively
 ‘ Faith, that bringeth forth good Works, and not
 ‘ as dead. And these good Works I wish to break
 ‘ forth in this Sort, not only in hating the Enemies
 ‘ before-spoken against, but also in open reproving
 ‘ them as Enemies to God, our Prince and State
 ‘ that do use them, for they are so. Therefore I
 ‘ would have none spared or forborn that shall
 ‘ from henceforth offend herein, of what Calling
 ‘ soever he be, for the higher Place he hath, the
 ‘ more Harm he may do; therefore if he will not
 ‘ eschew Offences, the higher I wish him hanged.
 ‘ I speak this in Charity, Mr. Speaker, for it is bet-

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ter that one should be hanged, than that this Noble State should be subverted; well, I pray God with all my Heart, to turn the Hearts of all the Enemies of our Prince and State, and to forgive them that wherein they have offended, yea, and to give them Grace to offend therein no more; even so I do heartily beseech God to forgive us for holding our Peace when we have heard any Injury offered to this Honourable Council; for surely it is no small Offence, Mr. Speaker, for we offend therein against God, our Prince and State, and abuse the Confidence by them reposed in us. Wherefore God for his great Mercies Sake, grant that we may from henceforth shew ourselves neither Bastards nor Dastards therein, but that as rightly-begotten Children, we may sharply and boldly reprove God's Enemies, our Prince's and State; and so shall every one of us discharge our Duties in this our High-Office, wherein he hath placed us, and shew ourselves Haters of Evil, and Cleavers to that that is good, to the setting forth of God's Glory and Honour, and to the Preservation of our Noble Queen and Common-Wealth; for these are the Marks that we ought only in this Place to shoot at. I am thus earnest, I take God to witness, for Conscience Sake, Love unto my Prince and Common-Wealth, and for the Advancement of Justice; for *Justice, saith an Antient Father, is the Prince of all Virtues, yea, the safe and faithful Guard of Man's Life, for by it Empires, Kingdoms, People, and Cities be governed, the which if it be taken away, the Society of Man cannot long endure. And a King, saith Solomon, that sitteth in the Throne of Judgment, and looketh well about him, chaseth away all Evil:* In the which State and Throne, God for his great Mercies Sake, grant that our Noble Queen may be heartily vigilant and watchful; for surely there was a great Fault committed both in the last Parliament, and since also that was, as faithful Hearts as any were unto the Prince and State, received

most

‘ most Displeasure, the which is but an hard Point
 ‘ in Policy, to encourage the Enemy, to discourage
 ‘ the faithful-hearted, who of fervent Love can-
 ‘ not dissemble, but follow the Rule of St. Paul,
 ‘ who saith, *Let Love be without Dissimulation.*

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‘ Now to another great Fault I found the last
 ‘ Parliament, committed by some of this House also,
 ‘ the which I would desire of them all might be
 ‘ left; I have seen right good Men in other Cau-
 ‘ ses, although I did dislike them in that Doing, sit
 ‘ in an evil Matter against which they had most
 ‘ earnestly spoken: I mused at it, and asked what
 ‘ it meant, for I do think it a shameful Thing to
 ‘ serve God, their Prince or Country, with the
 ‘ Tongue only, and not with the Heart and Body.
 ‘ I was answered that it was a common Policy in
 ‘ this House, to mark the best Sort of the same,
 ‘ and either to fit or arise with them; that same
 ‘ common Policy, I would gladly have banished
 ‘ this House, and have grafted in the Stead thereof,
 ‘ either to rise or sit as the Matter giveth Cause;
 ‘ *For the Eyes of the Lord behold all the Earth, to*
 ‘ *strengthen all the Hearts of them that are whole with*
 ‘ *him.* These be God’s own Words, mark them
 ‘ well, I heartily beseech you all; for God will
 ‘ not receive Half-part, he will have the Whole.
 ‘ And again, he misliketh these two-faced Gentle-
 ‘ men, and here be many Eyes that will to their
 ‘ great Shame behold their double Dealing that use
 ‘ it. Thus I have holden you long with my rude
 ‘ Speech; the which since it tendeth wholly with
 ‘ pure Conscience to seek the Advancement of
 ‘ God’s Glory, our Honourable Sovereign’s Safety,
 ‘ and to the sure Defence of this noble Isle of Eng-
 ‘ land, and all by maintaining of the Liberties of
 ‘ this Honourable Council, the Fountain from
 ‘ whence all these do spring; my humble and hear-
 ‘ ty Suit unto you all is, to accept my Good-Will,
 ‘ and that this that I have here spoken out of Con-
 ‘ science and great Zeal unto my Prince and State,
 ‘ may not be buried in the Pit of Oblivion, and so
 ‘ no Good come thereof.’

‘ Upon

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‘ Upon this Speech, the House out of a reverent Regard of her Majesty’s Honour, stopped his further Proceeding before he had fully finished. The Message Mr. *Wentworth* meant and intended, was that which was sent by her Majesty to the House of Commons, in the Fourteenth Year of her Reign, upon the 28th Day of *May*, by Sir *Francis Knolles* Kt. inhibiting them, for a certain Time, to treat or deal in the Matter touching the *Scottish Queen*.’

Mr. *Wentworth* sequestred from the House, for his Speech.

‘ Mr. *Wentworth* being sequestred the House for his said Speech, it was agreed and ordered by the House upon the Question (after sundry Motions and Disputations had therein) that he should be presently committed to the Serjeant’s Ward as Prisoner; and so remaining, should be examined upon his said Speech, for the extenuating of his Fault therein, by a Committee consisting of all the Privy-Council being of this House, and other Members.

Next follows Mr *Wentworth*’s own Account of his Examination, before the Committee, as follows :

A Committee appointed to examine him there-upon.

Committee. ‘ **W**HERE is your late Speech you promised to deliver in Writing ? ’

Wentworth. ‘ Here it is, and I deliver it upon two Conditions: The first is, That you shall peruse it all, and if you can find any Want of Good-Will to my Prince and State in any Part thereof, let me answer all as if I had uttered all. The second is, That you shall deliver it unto the Queen’s Majesty; if her Majesty, or you of her Privy-Council, can find any Want of Love to her Majesty, or the State therein also; let me answer it ? ’

Com. ‘ We will deal with no more than you uttered in the House.’

Went. ‘ Your Honours cannot refuse to deliver it to her Majesty, for I do send it to her Majesty

‘ as my Heart and Mind, knowing it will do her Majesty good ; it will hurt no Man but myself.’ Queen Elizabeth.
1575.

Com. ‘ Seeing your Desire is to have us deliver it to her Majesty ; we will deliver it.’

Went. ‘ I humbly require your Honours so to do.’

Then the Speech being read, they said,

Com. ‘ Here you have uttered certain Rumours of the Queen’s Majesty : Where and of whom heard you them ?’

Went. ‘ If your Honours ask me as Counsellors to her Majesty, you shall pardon me ; I will make you no Answer : I will do no such Injury to the Place from whence I came ; for I am now no private Person, I am a publick, and a Councillor to the whole State, in that Place, where it is lawful for me to speak my Mind freely ; and not for you, as Counsellors, to call me to Account for any thing that I do speak in the House ; and therefore if you ask me as Counsellors to her Majesty, you shall pardon me, I will make no Answer ; but if you ask me as Committees from the House, I will make you the best Answer I can.’

Com. ‘ We ask you as Committees from the House.’

Went. ‘ I will then answer you ; and the willinger for that mine Answer will be in some Part so imperfect as of Necessity it must be. Your Question consisteth of these two Points, Where and of whom I heard these Rumours ? The Place where I heard them was the Parliament-House ; but of whom, I assure you, I cannot tell.’

Com. ‘ This is no Answer to say, you cannot tell of whom, neither will we take it for any.’

Went. ‘ Truly your Honours must needs take it for an Answer, when I can make you no better.’

Com. ‘ Belike you have heard some Speeches, in the Town, of her Majesty’s misliking of Religion

Queen Elizabeth, 1575. 'ligion and Succession ; you are loth to utter of whom, and did use Speeches thereupon.'

Went. ' I assure you Honours I can shew you that Speech at my own House, written with my Hand two or three Years ago. So that you may thereby judge, that I did not speak it of any thing that I heard since I came to Town.'

Com. ' You have answered that, but where heard you it then.'

Went. ' If your Honours do think I speak for Excuse-Sake, let this satisfy you : I protest before the living God I cannot tell of whom I heard these Rumours ; yet I do verily think that I heard them of a hundred or two in the House.

Com. ' Then of so many you can name some.'

Went. ' No surely, because it was so general a Speech, I marked none ; neither do Men mark Speakers commonly when they be general : And I assure you if I could tell, I would not. For I will never utter any thing told me, to the Hurt of any Man, when I am not enforced thereunto, as in this Case I may chuse. Yet I would deal plainly with you, for I would tell your Honours so, and if your Honours do not credit me, I will voluntarily take an Oath, if you offer me a Book, that I cannot tell of whom I heard those Rumours. But if you offer me an Oath of your Authorities, I will refuse it ; because I will do nothing to infringe the Liberties of the House. But what need I to use these Speeches ? I will give you an Instance, whereupon I heard these Rumours to your Satisfying, even such a one, as if you will speak the Truth, you shall confess, that you heard the same as well as I.

Com. ' In so doing we will be satisfied : What is that ?

Went. ' The last Parliament [by which it may be conceived he meant and intended that Parliament in *An. 13 Reginae Eliz.*] he that is now Speaker [*viz. Robert Bell, Esq;* who was also Speaker in the first Session of this present Parliament in *An. 14 Reginae ejusdem*] uttered a very good

‘ good Speech for the calling in of certain Licences granted to four Courtiers, to the utter Undoing of six or eight thousand of the Queen’s Majesty’s Subjects. This Speech was so disliked of some of the Council, that he was sent for; and so hardly dealt with, that he came into the House with such an amazed Countenance, that it daunted all the House in such Sort, that for ten, twelve, or sixteen Days, there was not one in the House that durst deal in any Matter of Importance. And in those simple Matters that they dealt in, they spent more Words and Time in their Preamble, requiring that they might not be mistaken, than they did in the Matter they spake unto. This Inconvenience grew unto the House by the Councils hard handling of the said good Member, whereupon this Rumour grew in the House. *Sirs, you may not speak against Licences, the Queen’s Majesty will be angry, the Privy-Council too will be angry;* and this Rumour I suppose there is not one of you here but heard it as well as I. I beseech your Honours discharge your Consciences herein as I do.’

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1575.

Com. ‘ We heard it, we confess, and you have satisfied us in this; But how say you to the hard Interpretation you made of the Message that was sent into the House?’ [The Words were recited.] ‘ We assure you We never heard a harder Interpretation of a Message.’

Went. ‘ I beseech your Honours, first, was there not such a Message sent unto the House?’

Com. ‘ We grant that there was.’

Went. ‘ Then I trust you will bear me Record that I made it not; and I answer you that so hard a Message could not have too hard an Interpretation made by the wisest Man in *England*. For, can there by any possible Means be sent a harder Message to a Council gathered together to serve God, than to say, You shall not seek to advance the Glory of God? I am of this Opinion that there cannot be a more wicked Message than it was.’

Com.

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1575.

Com. ' You may not speak against Messages,
' for none sendeth them but the Queen's Majesty.

Went. ' If the Message be against the Glory of
' God, against the Prince's Safety, or against the
' Liberty of this Parliament-House whereby the
' State is maintained, I neither may nor will hold
' my Peace. I cannot in so doing discharge my
' Conscience, whosoever doth send it. And I say,
' that I heartily repent me, for that I have hither-
' to held my Peace in these Causes, and I do pro-
' mise you all, if God forsake me not, that I will
' never, during Life, hold my Tongue, if any
' Message is sent, wherein God is dishonoured, the
' Prince perilled, or the Liberties of the Parlia-
' ment impeached ; and every one of you here
' present ought to repent you of these Faults, and
' to amend them.

Com. ' It is no new Precedent to have the
' Prince to send Messages.'

[Then were two or three Messages recited, sent
by two or three Princes.]

Went. ' Sirs, said I, you do very evil to alledge
' Precedents in this Order. You ought to alledge
' good Precedents to comfort and embolden Men
' in Good Doing, and evil Precedents to discour-
' rage and terrify Men to do Evil.'

Com. ' But what meant you to make so hard
' Interpretation of Messages ?'

Went. ' Surely I marvel what you mean by
' asking this Question. Have I not said, so hard a
' Message could not have too hard an Interpreta-
' tion ; and have I not set down the Reason that
' moved me in my Speech, that is to say, that for
' the Receiving and Accepting that Message, God
' has poured so great Indignation upon us, that he
' put into the Queen's Majesty's Heart to refuse
' good and wholesome Laws for her own Preser-
' vation ; which caused many loving and faithful
' Hearts, for Grief, to burst out with sorrowful
' Tears ; and moved all Papists, Traitors to God,
' to her Majesty, and to every good Christian Go-
' vernment, in their Sleeves to laugh the whole
' Par-

‘ Parliament-House to scorn. Have I not thus
 ‘ said? and do not your Honours think it did so?’ Queen Elizabeth.
1575.

Com. ‘ Yes truly. But how durst you say,
 ‘ that the Queen’s Majesty had unkindly abused
 ‘ herself against the Nobility and People?’

Went. ‘ I beseech your Honours, tell me how
 ‘ far you can stretch these Words of her unkind-
 ‘ ly abusing and opposing herself against her Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Nobility and People? Can you apply
 ‘ them any further than I have applied them, that
 ‘ is to say, in that her Majesty called the Parlia-
 ‘ ment of purpose to prevent traiterous Perils to her
 ‘ Person, and for no other Cause; and in that her
 ‘ Majesty did send unto us two Bills, willing us to
 ‘ take our Choice of that we liked best for her Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Safety, and thereof to make a Law promi-
 ‘ sing her Royal Consent thereunto; and did we
 ‘ not first chuse the one, and her Majesty refused
 ‘ it? yet did not we nevertheless receive the o-
 ‘ ther? and agreeing to make a Law thereof, did
 ‘ not her Majesty, in the End, refuse all our Tra-
 ‘ vels? And did not the Lord-Keeper, in her
 ‘ Majesty’s Presence, in the Beginning of the Par-
 ‘ liament, shew this to be the Occasion that we
 ‘ were called together? And did not her Majesty,
 ‘ in the End of the Parliament, refuse all our Tra-
 ‘ vels? Is not this known to all here present, and
 ‘ to all the Parliament-House also? I beseech
 ‘ your Honours discharge your Consciences herein,
 ‘ and utter your Knowledge simply as I do; for in
 ‘ Truth herein her Majesty did abuse her Nobility
 ‘ and Subjects, and did oppose herself against them
 ‘ by the Way of Advice.’

Com. ‘ Surely we cannot deny it; you say
 ‘ the Truth.’

Went. ‘ Then I beseech your Honours shew
 ‘ me if it were not a dangerous Doing to her Ma-
 ‘ jesty in these two Respects. First, in weakening,
 ‘ wounding, and discouraging the Hearts of her
 ‘ Majesty’s loving and faithful Subjects, thereby to
 ‘ make them the less able or the more fearful and
 ‘ unwilling to serve her Majesty, another Time.
 ‘ On

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Queen Elizabeth. 3575. ' On the other Side, was it not a Raifing-up and
' Encouraging the Hearts of her Majesty's hateful
' Enemies to adventure any desperate Enterprize to
' her Majesty's Peril and Danger ? '

Com. ' We cannot deny but that it was very
' dangerous to her Majesty in those Respects. '

Went. ' Then why do your Honours ask how
' I dare tell a Truth, to give the Queen's Majesty
' Warning to avoid her Danger ? '

' I answer you thus, I do thank the Lord my
' God, that I never found Fear in myself to give
' the Queen's Majesty Warning to avoid her Dan-
' ger ; be you all afraid thereof if you will, for I
' praise God I am not, and I hope never to live to
' see that Day ; and yet I will assure your Ho-
' nour, that twenty Times and more, when I
' walked in my Grounds revolving this Speech to
' prepare against this Day, my own fearful Conceit
' did say unto me, That this Speech would carry
' me to the Place whither I shall now go, and
' Fear would have moved me to have put it out ;
' then I weighed whether in good Conscience, and
' the Duty of a faithful Subject, I might keep my-
' self out of Prison, and not to warn my Prince from
' walking in a dangerous Course ; my Conscience
' said unto me, That I could not be a faithful Sub-
' ject, if I did more respect to avoid my own Dan-
' ger than my Prince's Danger. Here withal I
' was made bold, and went forward as your Ho-
' nours heard ; yet when I uttered those Words in
' the House, That there was none without Fault,
' no not our noble Queen ; I paused and beheld all
' your Countenances, and saw plainly that those
' Words did amaze you all ; then I was afraid
' with you for Company, and Fear bade me to put
' out those Words that followed, for your Counte-
' nances did assure me, that not one of you would
' stay me of my Journey ; yet the Consideration
' of a good Conscience, and of a faithful Subject,
' did make me hold to utter it in such Sort as your
' Honours heard ; with this Heart and Mind I spake
' it, and I praise God for it, and if it were to do
' again

‘ again I would with the same Mind speak it again.

Com. ‘ Yea, but you might have uttered it in

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‘ better Terms ; Why did you not so ? ’

Went. ‘ Would you have me to have done as
‘ you of her Majesty’s Privy-Council do, to utter
‘ a weighty Matter in such Terms as she should
‘ not have understood ? To have made a Fault, then
‘ it would have done her Majesty no good, and
‘ my Intent was to do her good.’

Com. ‘ You have answered us.’

Went. ‘ Then I praise God for it ; and, as I
‘ made a Courtesie, Mr *Seckford* spake these Words :

Com. ‘ Mr *Wentworth* will never acknowledge
‘ himself to make a Fault, nor say, that he is sorry
‘ for any Thing that he doth speak ; you shall
‘ hear none of these Things come out of his
‘ Mouth.’

Went. ‘ Mr *Seckford*, I will never confess that
‘ to be a Fault, to love the Queen’s Majesty, while
‘ I live ; neither will I be sorry for giving her Ma-
‘ jesty Warning, to avoid Danger, while the
‘ Breath is in my Body : If you do think it a Fault
‘ to love her Majesty, or to be sorry that her Ma-
‘ jesty should have Warning to avoid her Danger,
‘ say so ; for I cannot. Speak for yourself, Mr *Seck-*
‘ *ford*.’

‘ The next Day Mr Treasurer, in the Name of
the Committee Yesterday appointed for the Ex-
amination of *Peter Wentworth*, Burgeses for *Trego-*
ny, declared, That the said Committee did meet
Yesterday in the Afternoon, in the Star-Chamber,
according to their Commission ; and there exami-
ning the said *Peter Wentworth*, concerning the vio-
lent and wicked Words, Yesterday pronounced by
him, in this House, touching the Queen’s Majesty,
made a Collection of the same Words ; which
Words so collected, the said *Peter Wentworth* did
acknowledge and confess. And then did the said
Mr Treasurer read unto the House the said Note of
Collection ; which being read, he declared further,
That the said *Peter Wentworth* being examined,
what

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what he could say for the Extenuating of his said Fault and Offence, could neither say any thing at all to that Purpose, neither yet did charge any other Person as Author of his said Speech, but did take all the Burthen thereof unto himself. — And the said Mr Treasurer thereupon moved for his Punishment, and Imprisonment in the *Tower*, as the House should think good and consider of: Whereupon, after sundry Disputations and Speeches, it was ordered, upon the Question, that the said *Peter Wentworth* should be committed Close Prisoner to the *Tower*, for his Offence, there to remain until such Time as this House should have further Consideration of him. And thereupon immediately the said *Peter Wentworth*, being brought to the Bar by the Serjeant, received his said Judgment accordingly, by the Mouth of Mr Speaker, in Form above recited. And so Mr Lieutenant of the *Tower* was presently charged with the Custody of the said *Peter Wentworth*.

Mr. Wentworth
committed to the
Tower.

The Affair of his Enlargement from the *Tower*, will appear in the Sequel.

The same Day, *Feb.* 9th, the House came to this Resolution, 'That if any Person, being a Member of the same, was employed in the Service of Embassage, or in Execution, or visited with Sickness, he shall not lose his Seat in the House, nor any other be elected for it, during such Time of Service, Execution, or Sickness.' Also, the Lord *Russel*, Son and Heir to the Earl of *Bedford*, Burgess for *Bridport*, in the County of *Dorset*, was ordered to continue a Member of that House; notwithstanding the new-acquired Earldom of his Father.

Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the Motion for a Grant of a Subsidy to her Majesty, spoke as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

Sir Walter Mild-
may's Speech for
a Subsidy.

'THAT in the Beginning of this our Meeting such Matters as be of Importance may be thought on in Time, I am bold with your Favours to move you of one that, in my Opinion, is both
' of

of Moment and of Necessity. To the End, if ^{Queen Elizabeth,}
you likewise find the same to be so, you may
commit it further to the Consideration of such
as you shall think convenient. 1575.

And that you may the better judge of that
which I shall propound, it is requisite that I put
you in Remembrance, First, how the Queen
found the Realm; next, how she hath restored
and conserved it; and, Thirdly, how we stand
now. Touching the first, no Man can be igno-
rant how that our most gracious Queen, at her
Entering, found this noble Realm, by reason of
the evil Government preceding, miserably over-
whelmed with Popery, dangerously afflicted with
War, and grievously loaded with Debts; the
Burthen of which Three cannot be remembered
without Grief, especially if we call to Mind how
this Kingdom, being utterly delivered from the
usurped Tyranny of *Rome*, and that many Years
together; was, nevertheless, by the Iniquity of
later Time, brought back again into the former
Captivity, to the great Thralldom both of Body
and Soul of all the People of this Land. A
wretched Time, and wretched Ministers, to bring
to pass so wretched and wicked an Act to
strengthen this Bondage of *Rome*. We saw how
there was brought hither a strong Nation to press
our Necks again into the Yoke; terrible this
was to all the Inhabitants of this Land, and so
would have proved, if their Abode had been
here so long as was to be feared from them;
for by their Occasion came the War that we
entered into with *France* and *Scotland*, and not
upon any Quarrel of our own; but to help them
forward to their great Advantage, and our great
Loss and Shame; by Means whereof, and of
other Disorders, the Realm grew into great Debt
both at Home and Abroad, and so was left, to
the intolerable Loss and Charge of her Majesty
and the State. The Realm being thus misera-
bly oppressed with Popery, with War, and with
Debts, the Queen, our most gracious Sovereign,
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‘ hath thus restored and conserved it; she hath
‘ delivered us from the tyrannous Yoke of *Rome*,
‘ and restored again the most Holy Religion of the
‘ Gospel, not slackening any Time therein; but
‘ even, at the first, doing that which was for the
‘ Honour of God, to the unspeakable Joy of all
‘ good Subjects.

‘ But adventuring thereby the Malice of the
‘ mighty Princes of the World, her Neighbours
‘ being Enemies of our Religion; whereby it did
‘ appear how much she preferred the Glory of
‘ our God before her own Quietness: This done,
‘ she made Peace with *France* and *Scotland*, the
‘ one a mighty Nation, the other, though not so
‘ potent, yet in regard of their Nearness and of
‘ their Habitation with us upon our Continent,
‘ more dangerous: Which may easily appear by
‘ Consideration of former Times, wherein it hath
‘ been seen how dangerous *Scottish* Wars have
‘ proved to this Realm above those of any other
‘ Nation. But such hath been the Providence of
‘ our gracious Queen, as the Peace with *Scot-*
‘ *land*, which, in Times past was found very
‘ tickle, is now become so firm as in no Age there
‘ hath been so long and so good Peace between
‘ them and us.

‘ And that is brought to pass the rather for that
‘ her Majesty, by two notable Exploits with her
‘ Forces, the one to *Leith*, and another to *Edin-*
‘ *burgh*-Castle, hath both quieted that Realm, and
‘ taken away all Occasions of Hostility that might
‘ arise against this Country; also by the first deli-
‘ vering *Scotland* from the *French* which had so
‘ great a Footing there, as, without Aid from
‘ hence they must needs in short Time have tyran-
‘ nized over that Country to their perpetual Servi-
‘ tude, and to the Peril also of this Country, be-
‘ ing so near them, and they so ill Neighbours to
‘ dwell by. And by the second, ending and put-
‘ ting out the Fire of the Civil Wars amongst them,
‘ to the Preservation of their young King, and the
‘ perpetual Quietness of that Realm, both which

' as they have brought unto her Majesty great and ^{Queen Elizabeth.}
 ' immortal Honour and Renown, and to this ^{1575.}
 ' Country and that, Peace and Surety: So you
 ' cannot but think therewith upon the Charges
 ' which necessarily follow two such Journeys fur-
 ' nished by Land and Sea, as for the atchieving of
 ' so great Enterprizes was requisite. What her
 ' Majesty hath done besides, for the Suppressing of
 ' a dangerous and unnatural Rebellion practised by
 ' the Pope, the most principal and malicious Ene-
 ' my of this State, and put in Ure by certain un-
 ' dutiful Subjects in the North Parts of this Realm,
 ' was seen so late, even in your View, as it need-
 ' eth not to be remembred; neither the Charge
 ' that belongeth to a Matter of such Importance, as
 ' did threaten the utter Ruin to our most gracious
 ' Sovereign, and to all the People of this Land, if
 ' God, of his Mercy, had not prevented it.
 ' Notwithstanding all which costly Journeys;
 ' both into *Scotland* and within the Realm, her
 ' Majesty hath most caretully and providently de-
 ' livered this Kingdom from a great and weighty
 ' Debt, wherewith it hath been long burthened.
 ' A Debt begun four Years, at least, before the
 ' Death of King *Henry VIII*, and not cleared
 ' until within these two Years; and all that while
 ' running upon Interest; a Course able to eat up
 ' not only private Men and their Patrimonies, but
 ' also Princes and their Estates; but such hath
 ' been the Care of this Time, as Her Majesty and
 ' the State is clearly freed from that eating Corro-
 ' sive; the Truth whereof may be testified by the
 ' Citizens of *London*, whose Bonds, under the
 ' Common Seal of the City, of Assurance of Pay-
 ' ment being usually given and renewed, and which
 ' have hanged so many Years to their great Dan-
 ' ger, and to the Peril of the whole Traffick, are
 ' now all discharged, cancelled, and delivered into
 ' the Chamber of *London*, to their own Hands.
 ' By Means whereof the Realm is not only acquit-
 ' ted of this great Burthen, and the Merchants
 ' free, but also her Majesty's Credit thereby both

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‘ Home and Abroad greater than any other Prince
 ‘ for Money, if she have Need; and so in Reason
 ‘ it ought to be, for that she hath kept Promise to
 ‘ all Men, wherein other Princes have often failed
 ‘ to the Hindrance of many. Lastly, for this
 ‘ Point how the Justice of this Realm is preserved
 ‘ and ministred to her People, by her Majesty’s
 ‘ Political and just Government, is so well known
 ‘ to all Men, as our Enemies are driven to confess
 ‘ that Justice, which is the Band of all Common-
 ‘ Wealths, doth so tie and link together all De-
 ‘ grees of Persons within this Land, as there is
 ‘ suffered here no Violence, no Oppression, no
 ‘ Respect of Persons in Judgment; but *Jus equa-*
 ‘ *bile* used to all indifferently. All which godly,
 ‘ provident and wise Acts in Government, have
 ‘ brought forth these Effects that we be in Peace,
 ‘ and all our Neighbours in War; that we be in
 ‘ Quietness at Home, and safe enough from Trou-
 ‘ bles Abroad; that we live in Wealth and all
 ‘ Prosperity. and that which is the greatest, we
 ‘ enjoy the Freedom of our Consciences delivered
 ‘ from the Bondage of *Rome*, wherewith we were
 ‘ so lately oppressed. And thus we stand.

‘ But, for all this, as wise Mariners in calm Wea-
 ‘ ther do most diligently prepare their Tackles,
 ‘ and provide to withstand Attempts that may hap-
 ‘ pen: Even so in this our blessed Time of Peace
 ‘ that we enjoy, by the Blessing of God, through
 ‘ the Ministry of her Majesty, we ought in Time
 ‘ to make Provision to prevent any Storm that
 ‘ may arise either here or Abroad; and neither to
 ‘ be too careless or negligent, but think that the
 ‘ Tail of these Storms, which are so bitter and so
 ‘ boisterous in other Countries, may reach us also
 ‘ before they be ended; especially if we do not for-
 ‘ get the Hatred that is born us by the Adversary
 ‘ of our Religion both for our Profession, and for
 ‘ that this Realm is also a merciful Sanctuary for
 ‘ such poor Christians as fly hither for Succour;
 ‘ so as now one of the most principal Cares that
 ‘ we ought to take in this great Council of the
 ‘ Realm

' Realm is both to consider aforehand the Dangers Queen Elizabeth.
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 ' that may come by the Malice of Enemies; and
 ' to provide in Time how to resist them; and
 ' seeing that by those great Occasions which I have
 ' remembred, you can easily understand how low
 ' her Majesty's Coffers are brought, it is our Parts
 ' frankly and willingly to offer unto her Majesty
 ' such a Contribution as shall be able to restore the
 ' same again, in such Sort as she may be sufficiently
 ' furnished of Treasure to put in Order, and main-
 ' tain her Forces by Land and Sea, to answer any
 ' Thing that shall be attempted against her and
 ' us: And lest it might seem strange to some
 ' that her Majesty should want this, some con-
 ' sidering that not long sithence Aid was granted by
 ' the Realm: To that I answer, That albeit her
 ' Majesty is not to yield an Account how she
 ' spendeth her Treasure; yet, for your Satisfac-
 ' tions, I will let you understand such Things as
 ' are very true, and which I dare affirm, having
 ' more Knowledge thereof than some other, in
 ' respect of the Place I hold in her Majesty's
 ' Service.

' First, how favourable the Taxations of Subsi-
 ' dies be through the whole Realm cannot be un-
 ' known to any; whereby far less cometh to her
 ' Majesty's Coffers than by the Law is granted, a
 ' Matter now drawn to be so usual as it is hard to
 ' be reformed. Next, the Clearing of all Debts
 ' that run upon Interest, to the insupportable
 ' Charge of the Realm. Thirdly, the Charge in
 ' Suppressing the Rebellion in the North. Fourth-
 ' ly, the free and honourable Repayment of the
 ' last Loans, the like whereof was not seen before.
 ' Fifthly, the Journey to *Edinburgh*-Castle for the
 ' quieting of that Country and this. And, Lastly,
 ' the great and continual Charges in *Ireland*, by the
 ' evil Disposition of the People there; all which
 ' could not have been performed by the last Aid,
 ' except it had pleased her Majesty to spare, out of
 ' her own Revenues, great Sums of Money for the
 ' supplying of that which lacked, wherein she

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more respected the Realm than her own particular Estate; living, as you see, in most temperate Manner, without either Building or other superfluous Things of Pleasure; and like as these be Causes sufficient to move you to devise how these Wants may be repaired, so you ought the rather to do it, for that her Majesty lacketh and cannot have, without great Inconvenience, those Helps, which, in the Times of her Father, her Brother and Sister, were used; as the Abasing of Coin, which brought infinite Sums to them, but wrought great Damage to the Realm, which we yet feel; and should do more, had not her Majesty, to her perpetual Fame, restored the same again, so much as the Time could suffer. The Sale of Lands, whereof came also very great Sums of Money, but that is not hereafter to be used; saving that by the same the Revenues of the Crown are greatly diminished, which it cannot more bear, the Borrowing of Money upon Interest, the Burthen whereof the Realm hath felt so heavy, as that is never more to be done, if, by any Means, it may be avoided. And yet, notwithstanding all those Helps, it is apparent that Subsidies were continually granted in those Times; if so then, much more so now. Besides War and other extraordinary Charges which may happen, her Majesty's very ordinary Charges, which she cannot but sustain, are far greater, by Dearth of Prices and other Occasions, than in any other Prince's Days; as you may see by the ordinary and annual Charges of the Household, the Navy, the Ordnance, the Armory, the Garrison of *Berwick*, the standing Garrison and Officers within the Realm of *Ireland*. And whether these are like to be more costly to her Majesty than in former Times, in respect of the Prices of all Things, let every Man judge by the Experience he hath of his private Expences.

And so to draw to an End for avoiding of your Trouble I trust these few Things may suffice to remember us how her Majesty found the Realm, how she hath restored and preserved it, and how the present State is now; and therewith

all

‘ all may serve as Reasons sufficient to persuade us Queen Elizabeth.
 ‘ to deal in this necessary Cause, as her Majesty, 1575.
 ‘ being the Head of the Commonwealth, be not
 ‘ unfurnished of that which will be sufficient to
 ‘ maintain both herself and us against the private or
 ‘ open Malice of Enemies; wherein let us so pro-
 ‘ ceed as her Majesty may find how much we think
 ‘ ourselves bound to God, that hath given us so gra-
 ‘ cious a Queen over us; and shew thereby also such
 ‘ Gratitude towards her, as she may perform the
 ‘ Course of her Government *cum Alacritate.*’

This Speech ended, a Committee was immediately appointed to draw up a Bill for a Subsidy.

On the 12th Day of *March*, *Christopher Hatton*, Esq; now Captain of the Band of Pensioners, but afterwards Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, stood up and reported to the House, ‘ That where-
 ‘ as a Member of the same, on the first Day of this
 ‘ Session, *Feb. 8th*, had, in a set Speech, uttered
 ‘ divers offensive Matters against her Majesty, and,
 ‘ for the same, had been committed Prisoner to the
 ‘ Tower, by that House: Yet her Majesty was
 ‘ graciously pleased to remit her justly occasioned The Queen’s
 ‘ Displeasure for the said Offence; and to refer the Message for Mr.
 ‘ Enlargement of the Party to the House.’ Which Wentworth’s
 Message was most thankfully accepted of by the Discharge.
 whole House.

Afterwards, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, rose up and spoke as follows:

Mr Speaker,

‘ I Think that by this whole Action, and by her Sir Walter Mild-
 ‘ Majesty’s Dealing in this Cause, we had just may’s Speech
 ‘ Occasion to consider these three Things: thereupon.
 ‘ I. Her Majesty’s good and clement Nature.
 ‘ II. Her Respect to us. And,
 ‘ III. Our Duty towards her.
 ‘ Touching the First, That Sovereign Princes,
 ‘ placed by God, are to be honoured with all hum-
 ‘ ble and dutiful Reverence, both in Word and
 ‘ Deed, especially if they be good and virtuous, such
 ‘ as our most gracious Sovereign is; a Princess that
 ‘ -hath

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hath governed this Realm so many Years, so quietly, so justly and providently; which being true, as no Man can deny, then see how great an Offence this was, to reprove so good and gracious a Queen so unjustly, and that to be done not by any common Person abroad, but by a Member of this House; and not in any private or secret Place, but openly in this most honourable Assembly of the Parliament, being the highest Court and Council of the Realm. And thereby see also her most gracious and good Nature, that so mercifully and so easily can remit so great an Offence; a Thing rarely found in Princes of so great Estate, that use commonly to think themselves touched in Honour, if they should pass over smaller Injuries so lightly. The greater is her Majesty's Commendation; and the more are we bound to thank God for her.

Secondly, We may see what gracious Respect her Majesty had to us, that notwithstanding the just Cause that was given her to punish severely so great an Offence; yet the Favour that she had conceived towards us, proceeding from the just Trial of our dutiful Affections towards her, had so qualified her Displeasure, as she was contented, for our Sakes, to pardon the whole; and that so freely, as she would not, at any Time, think of it again, for those were her Words; a marvellous Grace towards us, and never hereafter, on our Parts to be forgotten; the rather for that the same proceeded merely from herself, thereby preventing the Suit, which we, in all Humbleness, might have made unto her.

Thirdly, That for so gracious a Dealing, it was, our bounden Duties to yield unto her Majesty our most humble and hearty Thanks, and to beseech Almighty God to enlarge her Days as the only Stay of our Felicity; and not only so but to learn also, by this Example, how to behave ourselves hereafter; and not under the Pretence of Liberty to forget our bounden Duty to so gracious a Queen: True it is, that nothing can be well concluded in a Council where there is not allowed

lowed, in debating of Causes brought in, Deliberation, Liberty, and Freedom of Speech; otherwise, if in Consultation Men be either interrupted or terrified, so as they cannot, nor dare not, speak their Opinions freely, like as that Council cannot but be reputed for a servile Council; even so all the Proceedings therein shall be rather to satisfy the Wills of a few, than to determine that which shall be just and reasonable. But herein we may not forget to put a Difference between Liberty of Speech, and licentious Speech; for by the one Men deliver their Opinions freely, and with this Caution, That all be spoken pertinently, modestly, reverently, and discreetly; the other contrariwise uttereth all impertinently, rashly, arrogantly and irreverently, without Respect of Person, Time, or Place: And tho' Freedom of Speech hath always been used in this Great Council of Parliament, and is a Thing most necessary to be preserved amongst us; yet the same was never, nor ought to be, extended so far, as though a Man in this House may speak what and of whom he list. The contrary whereof, both in our own Days and in the Days of our Predecessors, by the Punishment of such inconsiderate and disorderly Speakers, hath appeared. And so to return, let this serve us for an Example, to beware that we offend not in the like hereafter, lest that in forgetting our Duties so far, we may give just Cause to our gracious Sovereign to think that this her Clemency hath given Occasion of further Boldness; and thereby so much grieve and provoke her, as contrary to her most gracious and mild Consideration, she be constrained to change her natural Clemency into necessary and just Severity; a Thing that I trust shall never happen amongst wise and dutiful Men, such as the Members of this House are thought always to be.

A Motion had been made in the House of Commons this Session, on the old Topic of pressing the
Queen

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Queen Elizabeth. Queen to marry ; but the House did not think proper to venture another Petition on it, but agreed, that at the Conclusion of the Session, the Speaker should move her Majesty about it. Accordingly, on *May* 14th, we are told, that in the Afternoon, the Queen came to the House of Lords, where their Speaker, *Robert Bell*, Esq; presented the Bill of one *Subsidy*, and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*. The Particulars of which, being omitted by the Clerk, are supplied by Sir *Symonds D'Ewes* ; who tells us, ' That the Speaker's Speech was to the following Effect :

The Speaker recommends it to the Queen to marry. *First*, ' He spoke touching sundry Kinds of Government, which had been in this Kingdom ; and so drew his Discourse to the present Time. Then he made a large Enumeration of her Majesty's many Virtues, and of the many Benefits which the Kingdom received by her gracious Government. After which he proceeded humbly to petition her Majesty, to make the Kingdom further happy in her Marriage, that so they might hope for a continual Succession of those Benefits in her Posterity. To which, having added a compendious Relation of such Acts as had passed the House of Commons, he concluded with the Presentation of the Bill of Subsidy, in their Names, unto her Majesty.'

After which, the Lord Keeper, by her Majesty's Commandment, answered as followeth :

Mr. Speaker,

The Lord Chancellor's Speech at the Close of the Session. ' **T**HE Queen's Majesty, our most Dread and Gracious Sovereign Lady, hath heard and doth very well understand your Oration, full of ' Good-Will and Matter. The Sum thereof may ' be reduced into five Parts, whereof the first containeth a Discourse of sundry Kinds of Government, from the Beginning until this Time. The ' Second, the Commendations of her Majesty's ' Virtues, and of her great and gracious Government from the Beginning, with a Remembrance ' of her Highness's bountiful Benefits. The Third, ' con-

concerning the humble and earnest Petition moving her Majesty to marry. The Fourth is a Declaration of Laws past in the Lower-House, with an humble Suit for her Highness's Royal Assent to be given unto the same. The Fifth and last, concerning a Presentation of the Subsidy granted in this Session.

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As concerning the First, which containeth the Discourse of sundry Kinds of Government, I see not that this Time and Place doth require any Answer to be given unto it other than this; that you, Mr. Speaker, are much to be commended for your diligent Collecting, and also for the apt Comparing of the last Part of the same.

And as to the Second, which concerneth the Commendations of her Majesty's great Virtues and good Government, with the Remembrance of the manifold Benefits that you have received at her Majesty's Hand, her Highness hath commanded me to say unto you, that she wisheth of God with all her Heart, that all those Royal Virtues and principal Parts, together with the great Gifts of gracious Government that you make mention of, were so perfectly planted in her, as best might serve to the Maintenance of God's Glory, from whom her Majesty confesseth all Goodness to proceed; and best also might serve for the good Governance of you her good, loving and obedient Subjects; and withal, prayeth you with her, and for her, to give God hearty Thanks for those Virtues and Graces that it hath pleased him to bless her withal; and also to pray for the Continuance of them with such Increase, as shall best like his Divine Majesty. And besides this, I may, and dare certainly affirm unto you, by her Majesty's own Mouth, that if the Virtues of all the Princes in *Europe* were united within her Highness's Breast, she should gladly employ the same to the best of her Power about the good Governance of you, that be so good and loving unto her; so great is her Highness Good-Will and inward Affection toward you.

Again

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‘ Again true it is, that these your loving and reverend Conceiving of the virtuous and gracious Government of your Sovereign, is taken by her Majesty in very thankful Part, as a special and peculiar Property pertaining to faithful and loving Subjects; neither will her Highness admit of any Occasion that may move you to conceive otherwise than you have: Neither do I think that any Man can devise any more ready, or any more strong Persuasion to move a Princely Nature to be such towards her Subjects as they can wish, than by such good, reverend and loving Conception and Conceiving remembered by you. To conclude, as touching this Point, I am to affirm unto you from her Majesty, that she taketh your Proceedings in the Parliament, both in the Midst, and also in the Ending, so graciously, and in so thankful Part, that if both Parts and Nature did concur in me abundantly to make me eloquent (as neither of them do) yet I am sure, I were not able to set forth this Point according to her Highness’ Desire, or to the Worthiness of it. And for the more manifest Declaration of this, and of the great Good-Liking her Majesty hath conceived of you that be of this Parliament, her Highness meaneth not to determine the same, but to prorogue it until the next Winter. And as to Cognizance and Recognizance of Benefits, her Majesty’s Pleasure is, that I should declare unto you, that there is none of these Benefits received by you, but she wisheth them treble in Number, and quadruple in Greatness and Goodness. And further, her Highness thinketh that the faithful Recognizing of Benefits received, is one of the greatest Satisfaction that a Subject can make to his Sovereign for them. And as to the Third, which concerneth your humble earnest Petition, it proceedeth from your inward Affections and benevolent Minds, founded upon the great good Opinion that you have conceived of her Majesty’s most gracious Government over you, according to the Declaration made by you,

† a Mat-

‘ a Matter greatly moving her Majesty the rather
 ‘ to allow of your Petition. Queen Elizabeth.
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‘ The second Note importeth yet more than
 ‘ this; for therein she conceiveth that this great
 ‘ good Opinion of this happy Government is not
 ‘ conceived by you, as it appeareth by your own
 ‘ Declarations, upon any sudden Ground or Cause,
 ‘ but hath grown upon the Consideration of her
 ‘ Highness’s Governance during the Reign of seven-
 ‘ teen Years now past: Whereby it is evident,
 ‘ that this is a settled and constant Opinion of
 ‘ yours, and therefore much the more moving her
 ‘ Majesty to give a gracious Ear unto this your
 ‘ Petition.

‘ And yet the third Note exceedeth the other
 ‘ two former; for in this Note she conceiveth the
 ‘ Abundance of your inward Affection grounded
 ‘ upon her good Governance of you to be so great,
 ‘ that it doth not only content you to have her
 ‘ Majesty reign and govern over you, but also you
 ‘ do desire, that Some proceeding from her Majes-
 ‘ ty’s Body might by a perpetual Succession reign
 ‘ over your Posterity also: A Matter greatly to
 ‘ move her Majesty (she saith) to incline to this
 ‘ your Suit. Besides her Highness is not unmin-
 ‘ ful of all the Benefits that will grow to the Realm
 ‘ by such Marriage; neither doth she forget any
 ‘ Perils that are like to grow for Want thereof.
 ‘ All which Matters considered, her Majesty wil-
 ‘ led me to say, that albeit of her own natural
 ‘ Disposition she is not disposed or inclined to Mar-
 ‘ riage, neither could she ever marry were she a
 ‘ private Person; yet for your Sakes and the Bene-
 ‘ fit of the Realm, she is contented to dispose and
 ‘ incline herself to the Satisfaction of your humble
 ‘ Petition, so that all Things convenient may con-
 ‘ cur that be meet for such a Marriage; whereof
 ‘ there be very many, some touching the State of
 ‘ her most Royal Person, some touching the Per-
 ‘ son of him whom God shall join, some touch-
 ‘ ing the State of the whole Realm: These
 ‘ Things concurring and considered, her Majesty
 ‘ hath

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‘ hath assented (as is before remembred.) And thus
‘ much touching this Matter.

‘ As to the fourth Part, which concerneth a Declaration of the Laws passed in the Session, whereunto you do pray that her Majesty would give her Royal Assent, her Majesty hath commended your Travel and Pains taken in devising of these Laws, your Considerations and Carefulness in debating and consulting, and your Judgments and Determinations in concluding and passing of the same; and meaneth to give her Royal Assent to so many of them as her Majesty shall think meet and convenient to pass at this Time. But here I am to remember you, that this is not all that her Highness requireth in this Point; for she is desirous that the great Travels, Pains, and great Charges employed about the making of these Laws should not be lost, neither her Majesty’s Royal Assent granted in vain; which must needs come to pass, except you look better to the Execution of Laws than heretofore you have done; for as I have before this Time said, Laws without Execution, be nothing else but Pen, Ink and Parchment; a Countenance of Things, and nothing in Deed; a Cause without an Effect; and serve as much to the good Governance of the Common-Weal, as the Rudder of a Ship doth serve to the good Governance of it without a Governor; and so serve to as good Purpose to direct Men’s Actions. as Torches do to direct Men’s Goings in the Dark, when their Lights be put out. Were it not great Folly, trow ye, yea, and mere Madnes for a Man to provide apt and handsome Tools and Instruments to reform and prune his Trees withal, and then to lay them up in fair Boxes and Bags without Use of them? And is it not as strange, trow ye, to make Laws to reform Men’s Manners, and to prune away the ill Branches and Members of the Common-Weal, and then to lay up those Laws in fair Books and Boxes without Execution of them? Surely there is a small Difference betwixt these
‘ Cases;

‘ Cases; nay, it were much better to have no new
 ‘ Laws made at all, than to have Laws not execu- Queen Elizabeth.
 ‘ ted: For the Former doth but leave us in the 5.
 ‘ State we were in before the making of the new
 ‘ Laws; but not to execute them, is to breed a
 ‘ Contempt of Laws and Law-makers, and of
 ‘ all Magistrates, which is the Mother and Nurse
 ‘ of Disobedience; and what she breedeth and
 ‘ bringeth forth, I leave to you to judge.

‘ Now this Offence of not executing of Laws
 ‘ growing so great, it resteth to see in whose De-
 ‘ fault this is, and who ought to have the Burthen
 ‘ of it. First, Certain it is, that her Majesty leav-
 ‘ eth nothing undone meet for her to do for the
 ‘ Execution of Laws; for first, she maketh choice
 ‘ of Persons of most Credit and best Understanding
 ‘ throughout the whole Realm, to whom for the
 ‘ great Trust and Fidelity that she reposeth in them,
 ‘ she giveth Authority by Commission, to execute
 ‘ a great Part of those Laws, who also by Oath be
 ‘ bound to perform the same. Besides, the most
 ‘ special and needful Laws her Highness causeth to
 ‘ be proclaimed and published unto her People; as
 ‘ over this also (lest Men should be forgetful of
 ‘ their Duties) she causeth a Number of her Justi-
 ‘ ces to be called into publick Place, and there to
 ‘ be exhorted and admonished in her Majesty’s
 ‘ Name to see the Execution of her Laws; and
 ‘ what here can be more devised for her Majesty to
 ‘ do? Surely, in my Opinion, nothing.

‘ Then falleth it out necessarily and consequent-
 ‘ ly, that the Burthen of all these Enormities,
 ‘ Absurdities and Mischiefs that do grow in the
 ‘ Common-Wealth for not executing of Laws,
 ‘ must light upon those Persons that have Autho-
 ‘ rity from her Majesty to execute them and do it
 ‘ not: Which is a Burthen over-heavy for any to
 ‘ bear, being justly charged. For the Avoiding of
 ‘ this therefore, methinks, Men being thus remem-
 ‘ bred, ought to seek with all Diligence, and en-
 ‘ deavour to satisfy for their Negligence, and Un-
 ‘ carefulness past; which if they shall forget to do,
 ‘ her

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‘ her Majesty shall be then driven, clean contrary
 ‘ to her most Gracious Nature and Inclination, to
 ‘ appoint and assign private Men, for Profit and
 ‘ Gain Sake, to see her penal Laws to be executed.
 ‘ The Course which hitherto her Majesty hath ta-
 ‘ ken, hath been, to have her Laws executed by
 ‘ Men of Credit and Estimation for the Love of
 ‘ Justice, uprightly and indifferently; but if they
 ‘ shall refuse so to do, forgetting their Duty to
 ‘ God, Sovereign and Country, then of Necessi-
 ‘ ty, rather than the Laws should be unexecuted,
 ‘ her Majesty shall be driven, I say, to commit the
 ‘ Execution of them to those, who in respect of
 ‘ Profit and Gain, will see them executed with all
 ‘ Extremity. And what a Burthen that will bring
 ‘ to the Common-Weal, I leave it to your Con-
 ‘ sideration. But it is to be hoped, that if the
 ‘ Respects before remembred, will not move you
 ‘ to see better to your Charge; yet the Fear of this
 ‘ great Inconveniency should constrain Men that
 ‘ be in Commission to look to the better Execution
 ‘ of Laws. And thus much touching the fourth
 ‘ Part.

‘ Now as to the fifth and last, which concern-
 ‘ eth the Grant of a Subsidy, her Majesty hath
 ‘ commanded me to say unto you, that that Grant
 ‘ is a manifest Declaration by Deeds of that which
 ‘ before was declared by Words: For how could
 ‘ such a Grant be made, and in such Manner
 ‘ granted, and by such Persons, but that of Ne-
 ‘ cessity it must proceed from the benevolent Minds
 ‘ and hearty Affections of such loving Subjects as
 ‘ are before remembred? True it is, that her Ma-
 ‘ jesty in these your Doings hath noted three
 ‘ Things especially and principally, every of them
 ‘ tending much to the setting forth of your Bene-
 ‘ volence. The first, Who it is that granted;
 ‘ the second, The Manner of granting; the
 ‘ third, What it was that is granted. As to the
 ‘ first, Her Majesty cannot forget, how this Grant
 ‘ proceeded from the earnest Affections and hearty
 ‘ Good-Wills of her loving and obedient Subjects.

‘ Where-

Wherefore her Majesty maketh greater Account thereof than Ten Subsidies, and so she commanded me to say unto you. Again, her Majesty remembreth very well, that this Grant was made not by Subjects that never did the like before, but by Subjects that have been, and continued to be ready from Time to Time, to contribute towards the necessary Charges and Defence of the Realm; which doth greatly commend and set forth, she saith, this great Benevolence of yours. And as to the second, which is, The Manner of granting, her Highness noteth two Things especially; the one is Universality of Consent; and can there be a more universal Consent than when all agreeing and none denying as this was? Nay, her Highness knoweth that, before her Time, these Manner of Grants passed not but with a great Persuasion and many Difficulties; whereas this was frankly offered without any Persuasion or Difficulty at all. The other is the Readiness of granting. It is written of Benevolence, *Bis dat qui cito dat*, which her Majesty saith, may be justly applied to these your Proceedings. And to the third, which is the Thing granted, she taketh it to be as liberal as any heretofore hath been granted; and therefore hath commanded me to yield unto you her most hearty condign Thanks, and withal, to let you understand, that her Majesty is as willing and desirous to give you this whole Subsidy again, as you have been willing to grant it, if the Necessity of the Realm and your Surety would suffer it. And thus much touching the granting of the Subsidy.

Now as to the due and true Execution of the same, I am to exhort and also to admonish you, and yet it may be probably said, that Persons that have thus bountifully and readily made this Grant, wherein and whereby their benevolent Minds and hearty Affections have been so manifestly declared in granting, that to these Persons neither Admonishments nor Exhortations are due for the true Executing of that Grant, no more than a

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‘ Spur is to a Horse, that runneth as swiftly as he
‘ can. Albeit this Argument in Reason carrieth
‘ Probability and Likelyhood with it; yet former
‘ Experience hath taught that these Grants have
‘ not been so duly and truly executed, as they have
‘ been benevolently granted.’

Acts passed.

There are the Titles of thirty-seven Acts passed this Session, in the Lords Catalogue; in the printed Statutes, only twenty-four; but the Supernumerary Acts are only on private Affairs, for which Reason they are not mentioned. Some farther Care was taken to reform the Abuses of the Clergy, by an Act made for an Explanation of one passed in the last Session, on the score of Dilapidations and granting Scandalous Leases of Spiritual Benefices.

The Parliament
prorogued.

The Queen having passed all the Acts, the Parliament was adjourned to the next Day; when, in the Afternoon, her Majesty came again to the House, and the Lord Keeper, by her Command, prorogued this Parliament to the 5th Day of November next.

It is somewhat surprising, that so exact an Annalist of this Queen's Reign, as Mr *Cambden* was, should wholly omit the Transactions of this last Session of Parliament. It is true, there is little Historical Matter in them, except in the Grant of the *Subsidy*; which, if it was as large as the printed Statutes make it, is very remarkable; since it was a greater Supply, at one Time, than any we have met with before; and what the State, by any Exigences that History takes Notice of, seemed not then to stand in need of.

It was a long Time, indeed, before any farther Subsidy was required, or any Parliament sat to grant one; for never such a Chain of Prorogations, of one Parliament, was seen in *English History*, as comes now to be related; the *Journals* of the Lords, for very many Pages together, being filled with nothing else, but Meetings and Prorogations, and Commissions, at large, for Prorogations; reciting all that had
gone

gone before them. So that the last, to their Meeting to do Business, recapitulates the whole; from which we shall extract them, in *Die ad Diem*, in *Anno ad Annum*, to avoid a Prolivity of Matter, scarce worth recording at all, by any, but an Express Writer of *Parliamentary History*.

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The last Session of Parliament continued from February the 8th to March the 15th; from which Time it was prorogued to the 5th of November following, which was still in the 18th Year of this Reign, or Anno 1576; Queen Elizabeth beginning her Reign on the 17th of November, 1558. From November 5th, the Parliament was again prorogued to

An. Reg. 19, June 3d.	An. Reg. Jan. 30th.
Fromthence to	Feb. 29th.
Nov. 12th.	April 12th.
20, March 26th.	May 2d.
April 8th.	May 30th.
May 26th.	June 30th.
Nov. 4th.	Aug. 25th.
21, Jan. 2d.	Sept. 20th.
April 27th.	Oct. 17th.
May 20th.	Nov. 4th.
Oct. 20th.	23, Nov. 24th.
22, Nov. 24th.	Jan. 16th.
Jan. 20th.	

Mr Cambden makes no manner of Mention of these frequent Prorogations, which it is strange a Cotemporary Historian should omit. He reckons always a Year wrong, too, in his Chronology; beginning with the Almanacks, when it ought to be from the Day that the late Queen died; for which Reason, he is ever a Year before us, in his *Annals*. But now, in his Account of the ensuing Session, he is worse out; for he begins it in *January*, in the 25th Year of this Reign; whereas both the *Lords Journals* and the *Statute-Books* make it justly the 23d.

We shall pass over all the Occurrences which happened in this long Interval of Time; in which,

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we may suppose, the Government wanted no Supplies, since a Parliament was not allowed to sit and grant them. It may be thought, that the famous Sailor, Sir *Francis Drake*, had amply filled the Queen's Coffers, as well as his own, by the vast Treasure he had brought from the *Spanish West-Indies*, about this Time. For which he had that memorable Honour done him of having his Name, in a *Rebus*, stamped on the *English Coin* (i).

The same Parliament meet again,
after twenty-four
Prorogations.

On the 16th of *January*, in the 23d Year of *Elizabeth*, the same Parliament which was called in the 14th, met once more at *Westminster*. The State of the Peerage, as it stood towards the Middle of this Reign, may not be improper to give at this Time.

Anno Regni 23,
1581.
At Westminster.

(k) The Queen, to *William Cecil* Lord *Burghley*, Lord High-Treasurer of *England*, &c.

<i>William</i> Marquiss of <i>Winchester</i> .	<i>Henry</i> Earl of <i>Southampton</i> .
<i>Edward</i> Earl of <i>Lincoln</i> .	<i>Francis</i> E. of <i>Bedford</i> .
Lord High-Admiral of <i>England</i> .	<i>Henry</i> E. of <i>Pembroke</i> .
<i>Edward</i> Earl of <i>Oxford</i> .	<i>Edward</i> E. of <i>Hertford</i> .
Ld Great Chamberlain.	<i>Robert</i> E. of <i>Leicester</i> .
<i>Thomas</i> Earl of <i>Sussex</i> ,	<i>Thomas</i> Viscount <i>Montague</i> .
Chamberlain of the Household.	<i>Thomas</i> Viscount <i>Howard</i> of <i>Byndon</i> .
<i>Philip</i> , Earl of <i>Arundele</i> .	<i>Henry</i> <i>Neville</i> , Lord <i>Bergavenny</i> .
<i>Henry</i> E. of <i>Northumberland</i> .	<i>George</i> <i>Touchet</i> Ld <i>Audley</i> .
<i>George</i> E. of <i>Shrewsbury</i> .	<i>Peregrine</i> Bertie Ld <i>Wiltoughby</i> of <i>Eresby</i> .
<i>Henry</i> E. of <i>Kent</i> .	<i>Edward</i> <i>Parker</i> Ld <i>Morley</i> .
<i>Henry</i> E. of <i>Derby</i> .	<i>George</i> <i>Fiennes</i> Ld <i>Dacre</i> .
<i>William</i> E. of <i>Worcester</i> .	<i>William</i> <i>Brooke</i> Ld <i>Cobham</i> .
<i>Edward</i> E. of <i>Rutland</i> .	<i>Edward</i> Ld <i>Stafford</i> .
<i>George</i> E. of <i>Cumberland</i> .	<i>Arthur</i> Ld <i>Grey</i> of <i>Wilton</i> .
<i>Henry</i> E. of <i>Huntingdon</i> .	<i>Henry</i>
<i>William</i> E. of <i>Bath</i> .	
<i>Ambrose</i> E. of <i>Warwick</i> .	

(i) A Bird, supposed, by our Connoisseurs in Coins, to represent a Drake.

(k) Dugdale's *Summons to Parliament*, p. 528,

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Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton.	Henry Lord Cromwell.	Queen Elizabeth. 1581.
Edward Ld Sutton of Dudley.	William Ld Evers.	
John Nevile Ld Latimer.	Philip Ld Wharton.	
John Lumley Ld Lumley.	Robert Ld Riche.	
John Ld Stourton.	Charles Ld Willoughby of Parham.	
Cuthbert Ld Ogle.	Thomas Ld Paget.	
James Blount Ld Mount- jay.	John Ld Darcie of Chich.	
John Darcie Ld Darcie.	Charles Ld Howard of Effingham.	
William Stanley, Ld Montegle.	Roger Ld North.	
William Ld Sands.	Giles Bruges Ld Chandois.	
William Ld Vaux of Harrowden.	Henry Carey, Ld Huns- don.	
Frederick Ld Windsor.	Oliver Ld St John of Bletso.	
Thomas Ld Wentworth of Nettlested.	Thomas Sackville Ld Buck- hurst.	
Thomas Ld Brough.	William West Ld De la Ware.	
William Paulet Ld St John of Basing.	Henry Ld Cheney of Tod- dington.	
Lewis Ld Mordaunt.	Henry Ld Norrys of Rycot.	

Whoever compares this List of the Peerage with that in the Beginning of this Reign, will find that there had been above twenty new Creations ; which, with the twenty-six Bishops, must give the Court a very great Power in the House of Lords in those Days. Nor was the Queen less pleased, we may suppose, with the Body of Commons, since in the Course of so many Years she never thought proper to change them. However, at the Meeting aforementioned, Death had made an Alteration in that House, by taking from them their Speaker ; without which they could do no Business, as was the Case of the last Parliament. A long Representation is entered in the Lords *Journals*, ' concerning a
' great Defect in the other House, for Want of
' Sir Robert Bell, Kt. Lord Chief Baron of the Ex-
' chequer, their Mouth and Speaker, lately dead.
' But that they finding good Direction what to do,

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by a former Precedent, in a Session of Parliament holden, *Sept.* 30th, in the 8th Year of her Reign, had appointed Sir *Francis Knolles*, Kt. Treasurer of the Queen's Household; Sir *James Crofts*, Comptroller; Sir *Francis Walsingham*, and Doctor *Wilson*, Secretaries of State; Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Kt. Chancellor of the Exchequer; with several other Members of the said House, in the Name of the whole, to go and wait upon the Lord Chancellor and the House of Lords, and request their Aid and Assistance for Intimation of the Matter to her Majesty.

Then the Lord Chancellor, first desiring this Committee to withdraw a while, acquainted that House with the Petition of the Commons; who, after due Consideration of the Premises, thought proper to appoint such of the Lords as were of the Privy-Council, with the Marquis of *Winchester* and the Earl of *Arundele*, to go along with a select Number of the Commons, to represent this Case to the Queen.

The first Day, the Receivers and Tryers of Petitions being appointed, as antiently, a Bill was read for the Reformation of Abuses in Sheriffs and Under-Sheriffs, and their Officers; which we do not find passed into a Law. The House was adjourned to the 18th: On which Day it is entered, that the Lord Chancellor produced a Commission from the Queen under the Broad Seal, whereby he was authorised to call the Commons before him, and to will and command them to repair to their accustomed Place, and choose another Speaker, in the Room of Sir *Robert Bell*, Kt. aforesaid. But nothing more is entered in the Lords *Journals* about this Matter.

Two Bills were brought into the House of Lords this Session, the first was against Scandalous Words and Rumours, and other Seditious Practices. The other against Scandalous Libels made on the Queen. The first passed into a Law, but we hear no more of the latter; but it is probable they were both joined into one, which, together, formed a Law to this Purpose:

That

‘ That if any Person shall advisedly and with a
 ‘ malicious Intent, speak any false and slanderous
 ‘ News, or Tales, against the Queen that now is, Queen Elizabeth.
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 ‘ he shall have both his Ears cut off, except he pay Act against scan-
dalous Rumours,
&c.
 ‘ two hundred Pounds into the *Exchequer*, for the
 ‘ Queen’s Use, within two Months after Judg-
 ‘ ment. And, if he speak such slanderous Tales
 ‘ on the Report of any other, he shall have one
 ‘ of his Ears cut off, except he pay two hundred
 ‘ Marks, &c. And, if any Person, once convict,
 ‘ shall offend again, it shall be adjudged Felony.
 ‘ Likewise, if any Person, within this Realm or
 ‘ without, shall devise, write, print, or set forth,
 ‘ any Book, Rhime, Ballad, Letter, or Writing,
 ‘ containing any false, seditious, and slanderous
 ‘ Matter, to the Defamation of the Queen, or the
 ‘ Stirring or Moving any Rebellion; or shall cause
 ‘ any such Book, Rhime, Writing, &c. to be writ-
 ‘ ten, printed or published; or shall, by setting of
 ‘ any Figure, casting of Nativity, or by Calculati-
 ‘ on, Prophefying, Witchcraft, Conjuraton, &c.
 ‘ seek to know, and shall set forth, by express
 ‘ Words, Deeds, or Writings, how long the Queen
 ‘ shall live; or who shall reign, as King or Queen
 ‘ after her Decease; or shall utter any Prophecies
 ‘ to any such Intent; or shall wish or desire the
 ‘ Death or Deprivation of the Queen, or any Thing
 ‘ to the same Effect; then every such Offence
 ‘ shall be adjudged *Felony*.’

It is certain that the Government was under
 no small Uneasiness, at this Time, on account of
 the open Freedoms taken with the Queen and her
 Administration, and the Secret Designs of the *Papists*,
 who were constantly plotting to overthrow both.
 This Jealousy produced a Bill stronger than the for-
 mer, which was first read and carried in the House
 of Commons, and sent up to the Lords, *March* the
 7th, with this Title; *A Bill for keeping the Queen’s
 Majesty’s Subjects in their due Obedience*. The Bill
 was read a third Time, on the 10th of the same
 Month, and concluded; and is the first Act, in our
Statute-Books, of this Session. By it was declared,

‘ That

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Another, making
it High Treason
to turn Papist.

‘ That whosoever shall dissuade the Subjects from
‘ their Obedience to their Prince, and from the
‘ Religion established in *England*, or shall reconcile
‘ them to the Church of *Rome*; also, those who
‘ shall be so dissuaded and reconciled, are guilty of
‘ *High Treason*. Those, also, who shall say Mass,
‘ are fined in two hundred Marks, and Imprison-
‘ ment for a Year, or longer, ’till they have paid
‘ the Money. Those who shall wittingly and
‘ willingly be present at Mass, are fined in one hun-
‘ dred Marks, and Imprisonment likewise for a
‘ Year. And they who refuse to frequent Divine
‘ Service, in their Parish-Churches, are fined in
‘ twenty Pounds a Month.’

The better to understand the Reason why the Government enacted such severe Laws, at present, it will be necessary to look a little into the History of the Times. Amongst the many Matches that had been proposed to Queen *Elizabeth*, from different Princes of *Europe*, there was one, at this Time, which came nearer Marriage than any of the rest.

In the Year 1572, the Queen-Mother of *France* had proposed her youngest Son, *Francis Duke D’Alençon*, as a Husband for *Elizabeth*; but the Queen is said then to disapprove of it, because of the Inequality of their Ages; he being then scarce seventeen Years and she above eight and thirty (1). However, the Queen promised to consider of it; and a long Consideration she took; for she led him a Dance from Year to Year, till his elder Brother dying, he became Duke of *Anjou*. In the Year 1581, this Duke was chosen Governour of the *Netherlands*, by the then revolted *States*; and the same Year came himself into *England*, in order to prosecute, with more Vigour, his intended Match with the Queen. The Nail was now driven a great Length; and the brisk *French* Prince pursued the Amour so closely, that some Authors, especially *Hollingshead*, have left us Room to think that a very great Familiarity was then between them. The grave Mr *Cambden* tells us, That on the

A Marriage on
Foot between the
Queen and the
Duke of An-
jou.

(1) *Cambden in Kennet*, p. 445.

the 17th of November, this Year, when the Queen had, with great Pomp, celebrated her Coronation-Day, the Force of modest Love, in the Midst of amorous Discourse, carried her so far as to draw off a Ring from her own Finger, and put it upon the Duke of Anjou's, upon certain Conditions betwixt them two (m).

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The Company took this Action for a public Contract ; but it did not prove so ; for the Duke having spent some Months in bringing this old Pike to his Bait, was at last forced to quit her ; not without some smart Invectives against the *Lightness of Women*, says *Cambden*, and the *Inconstancy of Islanders*.

This Amour occasioned great Noise all over Europe ; but, at Home, People were variously affected, as their own Interests led them to judge of the Match. The *Papists* were glad to find that a *Papish* Prince was, likely, once more to be on, or near, the Throne ; and the *Protestants*, on the contrary, were shocked at such a Prospect. These last threw out many severe Reflexions on the intended Union : Books and Pamphlets were printed against it. Amongst which, one gave great Offence to the Queen, entituled, *The Gulph, wherein England, will be swallowed by the French Match*. The Author, Printer, and Publisher of it, being found out, suffered an uncommon Punishment, having their Right Hands cut off by a Cleaver, driven thro' the Wrist by the Force of a Mallet, on a Scaffold in *Westminster* (n).

Which gives
a great Offence
to the Protestants.

These Men were of a Sect lately sprung up, called *Puritans*. But,

The Queen, to shew that she was no Way inclined to favour *Popery*, suffered, at the same Time, four *Papish* Priests to be arraigned and executed as Traitors. And these were the Reasons that induced the Government to get the foregoing Laws enacted ; both against the open seditious Libels and Reflections of the *Puritans*, and the secret Practices of the *Papists*. That the Former were very warm in their Remonstrances to the Par-

lia-

(m) *Cambden*, &c. p. 486.

(n) By virtue of an Act pass'd in the Reign of Philip and Mary, against the Authors and Publishers of Seditious Writings.

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A Pious Remon-
strance against it.

liament itself, at this Time, appears by an *Admonition* then addressed to the Queen and both Houses. In the Conclusion of which, the Authors thunder out their *Anathemas* against all those who oppose the Progress of their intended Religious Plan; the Stile and charitable Insinuations of which are too curious to be omitted. This Pious *Admonition* tells them plainly :

‘ That the State did not shew itself upright, al-
‘ ledge the Parliament what it will ; that all honest
‘ Men should find Lack of Equity, and all good
‘ Consciences condemn that Court ; that *it should*
‘ *be easier for Sodom and Gomorrha, in the Day of*
‘ *Judgment, than for such a Parliament.* That
‘ there is no other Thing to be looked for than
‘ some speedy Vengeance to light upon the whole
‘ Land, let the *politic Machiavels* of England pro-
‘ vide as well as they can, tho’ God do his worst.
‘ And, finally, if they of that Assembly would not
‘ follow the Advice of their *Admonitions*, they
‘ would infallibly be their own Carvers in it ; the
‘ Church being bound to keep God’s Order, and
‘ nothing to be called God’s Order but their pre-
‘ sent Plat-Form (o).’ But to proceed with our
‘ *Journals* :

On the 6th of *February*, a Bill was brought in-
to the House of Lords, to oblige all Persons whatso-
ever to come to Church, hear Divine Service, and
receive the Sacrament. But this Bill was let drop
after the first Reading.

A Subsidy gran-
ted.

March the 2d, a Bill was sent up by the Com-
mons, for granting a Supply to her Majesty, of a
Subsidy, two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*. It passed the
House of Lords on the 8th ; but, it is strange, that
Cambden takes no Manner of Notice of these Taxes,
nor for what Occasion they were wanted ; unless it
was for, secretly, supplying the *Dutch*, the then
Humble States, with Money, to support them in
their late Revolt from *Spain* (p).

‘ A Bill

(o) Collier’s *Ecclesiast. Hist.* Vol. II. p. 536.

(p) *Cambden in Kennet*, p. 485.

A Bill passed the House of Lords for fortifying the Borders towards *Scotland*, which was sent down to the Commons, who, on the 8th of *March*, sent up a new Bill to the Lords, to the same Purpose, and their old Bill with it. On which this remarkable Entry is made in their *Journals* :

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‘ This Day the Commons House sent up a new Bill, *For fortifying the Borders towards Scotland*, and, withal, returned a former Bill, which the Lords, with great Deliberation, had passed, and sent down before, with the same Title. Which Course the Lords thought to be both derogatory to the Superiority of the Place, and contrary to the antient Course of both Houses. And, as they disliked this Disorder, so it was their Pleasure, that this their Misliking should be entered in the Records of Parliament, lest so evil an Example might hereafter be used as a Precedent.’ — This is one of the first Instances, we have yet met with, of any material Dispute between the Two Houses. Whether they had any Conference to settle this Affair is uncertain by the Lords’s *Journal*; but we find, that on the 10th, the new Bill was read a first Time, by the Lords, and passed that House on the 15th, with certain Amendments, which were agreed to by the Commons.

A Difference between the Two Houses.

Causes of Appeal, between Party and Party, came now to be tried at the Bar of the House of Lords, and entered in their *Journal*. In this Session, there is a long *Memorandum* made of a Cause between the Marquess of *Winchester*, his Lady, and one Mr *Oughtred*; which, at last, was referred to a Committee of Lords, chosen by the Parties themselves, for their Determination.

The *Journals* of the House of Commons begin this Session of Parliament, with a very long Entry, relating to the Death of their Speaker, and the Election of a new one. But, as this was purely Matter of Form, we pass it over.

John Popham,
Esq; elected
Speaker, on
the Death of Sir
Robert Bell.

The Commons having made Choice of *John Popham*, Esq; her Majesty’s Sollicitor-General, for their Speaker, in the room of Sir *Robert Bell*, deceased;

‘ ed;

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ed ; he was presented, and confirmed by the Queen, on the 20th of *January*, with the usual Ceremonies. But, what is very remarkable, the Lord Chancellor, in his Answer to the Speaker, when he claimed the accustomed Privileges of the House, gave him this Admonition :

‘ That the House of Commons should not deal
‘ or intermeddle with any Matters touching her
‘ Majesty’s Person, or Estate, or Church-Govern-
‘ ment.’

The next Thing, of any Moment, that we find in the *Journals*, is a Work of Piety ; and evidently shews the Religious Disposition of the Members in those Days.

January 21st, one Mr. *Paul Wentworth* stood up, and made a Motion, for a public Fast, and daily Preaching. ‘ The Fast to be appointed upon
‘ some one certain Day, but the Preaching to be e-
‘ very Morning before the House did sit. That so,
‘ they beginning their Proceedings, with the Ser-
‘ vice and Worship of God, he might the better
‘ bless them in all their Consultations and Acti-
‘ ons.’

This Motion occasioned a warm Debate, and many Speeches, we are told, were made, *Pro* and *Con*, about it. It is not said what any of their Arguments were, only, that Sir *Francis Knolles*, Treasurer ; Mr *Thomas Cromwell*, and Mr *Alford*, spoke against the Motion ; and Mr *Cook*, Mr Secretary *Wilson*, and Mr Serjeant *Flowerden*, for it. Mr *Norton* also shewed Precedents, that there had been Fasts in *London*, appointed only by the Council. By which, says the *Journalist*, he seemed to infer, that a Parliament ought the rather to do it.

The Commons
appoint a Fast,
by their own
Authority.

However, the House being divided about this Matter, it was put to the Question, when one hundred and fifteen Voices were for, and one hundred against it. We let this pass without any other Observation, than that this *Paul Wentworth* was Brother to *Peter*, who began the last Session with a famous Speech on the Liberty of Parliaments. And the
Sequel

Sequel will shew that this last Motion bred, almost, as much Disturbance as the former. For, Queen Elizabeth.
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On the Resolution aforesaid, a Fast having been appointed to be kept, in the *Temple-Church*, on the 29th of this Instant *January*, there to assemble and meet together, to hear Preaching, and join in Prayer, Humiliation, and Fasting, &c. On the 24th of the same Month, an Entry is made, which we shall give, *verbatim*, as follows :

‘ Mr. Speaker declared himself, for his own Part, to be very sorry for the Error that happened here in this House upon *Saturday* last, in resolving to have a publick Fast ; and sheweth her Majesty’s great Misliking of the Proceeding of this House therein, declaring it to fall out in such Sort as he before did fear it would do ; and, advising the House to a Submission in that Behalf, further moved them to bestow their Time and Endeavour hereafter, during the Session, in Matters proper and pertinent for this House to deal in, and to omit all superfluous and unnecessary Motions and Arguments, with all due Regard and Consideration to the Order of the House.

‘ Mr. Vice-Chamberlain declaring a Message from her Majesty to this whole House, by her Highness’s Commandment shewed unto them her great Admiracion of the Rashness of this House, in committing such an apparent Contempt against her Majesty’s expresse Commandment, very lately before, delivered unto the whole House by the Lord Chancellor in her Highness’s Name, as to attempt and put in Execution, such an Innovation as the same Fast, without her Majesty’s Privy and Pleasure first known ; blaming first the whole House, and then Mr. Speaker ; and declaring her Majesty’s Protestation for the allowing of Fasting and Prayer, with the Use and Exercise thereof in her own Person ; but reproving the undutiful Proceeding of this House, as against the Duty of Subjects, did nevertheless, very eloquently and amply, set forth her Majesty’s most honourable and good Acceptation

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tion of the Zeal, Duty, and Fidelity, of this whole House towards Religion, the Safety of her Highness's Person, and the State of this Commonwealth; (in respect whereof her Majesty hath so long continued this Parliament without Dissolution) and declared further, to the great Joy and Comfort of this whole House, that her Majesty nevertheless, of her inestimable and Princely good Love and Disposition, and of her Highness most gracious Clemency, construeth the said Offence and Contempt to be rash, unadvised, and an inconsiderate Error of this House, proceeding of Zeal, and not of the wilful and malicious Intent of this House, or of any Member of the same; imputing the Cause thereof partly to her own Lenity towards a Brother of that Man which now made this Motion; (Mr. *Wentworth*) who in the last Session was by this House for just Causes reprehended and committed, but by her Majesty graciously pardoned and restored again. And after many excellent Discourses and Dilatations of her Highness's most honourable and loving Care for the Advancement of Religion and the State, wherein she had before signified her Prohibition to this House by the Lord Chancellor, shewed that her Highness hath already deeply consulted upon those Matters in all due and needful Respects, and prepared fit and apt Courses to digest them, meet and ready to be delivered unto this House from her Highness, by such Direction as her Majesty thinketh most convenient. And so persuading this House to employ the Time about the necessary Service of the Queen's Majesty and of the Commonwealth, with due and grave Regard to the antient Orders of this House, concludeth, that he thinketh it very meet, that this whole House, or some one of this House, by Warrant of the House, in the Name of the said House, do make most humble Submission unto her Majesty; acknowledging the said Offence and Contempt, and in most humble and dutiful wise, to pray Remission of the same at her Highness's Hands, with full

full Purpose hereafter to forbear committing of the like Offence.' Queen Elizabeth.
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' Mr. Comptroller followed him, and spake to the same Effect, but urged and enforced the Fault of the House with much more Violence.'

' Mr. *Nicholas St. Leger* spake next, and with a great deal of Discretion and Moderation extenuated the said Offence of the House; urging first, their great Affection to her Majesty, the Sincerity of their Intention in that Motion of the Fast; then the Imperfections and Sins to which not only private Men, but publick States are also subject, and therefore needed to be supported by Prayer and Humiliation; and then he urged, the great Fault and Remissness of the Bishops, who suffered that most necessary Duty of Fasting and Humiliation to grow even out of Use in the Church; and lastly, he concluded, that he trusted that both her Majesty and all her Subjects, would be ready to express their true Repentance to God in humbling themselves in Sack-Cloth and Ashes.'

' Mr. *St. Poole* followed Mr. *St. Leger*, but spake somewhat differing from him, aggravating the Fault of the House, and urging Submission.'

' Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer spake next, and admonished the House of their Duty which they did owe to so good and gracious a Prince, as her Majesty hath expressed herself to be in all this long Time of her Government; and therefore urged the House to Submission.'

' Mr. *Seckford*, one of the Masters of the Requests, urged the same Submission; but withal he thought it very fitting, and could wish it, that Mr. Vice-Chamberlain who had brought the Message from her Majesty of her Displeasure, might also carry the House's Submission back again unto her Highness.'

' Mr. *Flowerden* spake next, and shewed the Sincerity of his Intention in speaking for the Fast, when it was first moved; but now concluded, that it was most fitting for the House to make their Submission to her Majesty.'

' Mr.

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‘ Mr. *Carleton* stood up and offered to have spoken, but was interrupted by Mr. Speaker and the House.’

They make a
Submission to her
Majesty ;

‘ Then Mr. Speaker asked the Question, Whether Mr. Vice-Chamberlain should carry the Submission of the House to her Majesty, and it was agreed to by the Consent of the whole House.’

‘ Mr. *Carleton* offered again to speak, saying with some Repetition, that what he had to move was for the Liberty of the House; but the Speaker notwithstanding, and the House (out of a tender Care as it seemeth to give no further Distaste to her Majesty) did stay him.’

‘ Mr. Vice-Chamberlain brought Answer from her Majesty of her most gracious Acceptation of the Submission, and of her Majesty’s Admonition and Confidence of their discreet Proceeding; with one special Note, that they do not misreport the Cause of her Misliking, which was not, for that they desired Fasting and Prayer, but for the Manner in presuming to indict a Form of publick Fast without Order and without her Privity, which was to intrude upon her Authority Ecclesiastical.’

‘ Sir *Walter Mildmay* spake next, and said,

Mr. Speaker,

Sir Walter Mild-
may’s Motion
for securing the
Kingdom, &c.
against the Pope
and his Adhe-
rents.

‘ THE principal Cause of our Assembly here, being to consult of Matters that do concern the Realm, I have thought good with your Patience, to remember you of such Things, as for the Weight and Necessity of them I take to be worthy of your Considerations. Wherein I mean to note unto you what I have conceived, first, of the present State we be in; next, of the Dangers we may justly be in doubt of; and lastly, what Provision ought to be made in Time to prevent or resist them. These shewed, as briefly as the Matters will suffer, I leave them to your Judgments to proceed further as you shall find it expedient.

‘ That our most gracious Queen did at her first Entry loosen us from the Yoke of *Rome*, and
‘ did

‘ did restore unto this Realm the most pure and
 ‘ holy Religion of the Gospel, which for a Time
 ‘ was over-shadowed with Popery, is known of
 ‘ all the World, and felt of us to our singular
 ‘ Comforts. But from hence, as from the Root,
 ‘ hath sprung that implacable Malice of the *Pope*,
 ‘ and his Confederates against her, whereby they
 ‘ have, and do seek, not only to trouble, but if
 ‘ they could, to bring the Realm again into
 ‘ Thralldom; the rather for that they hold this as
 ‘ a firm and settled Opinion, that *England* is the
 ‘ only settled Monarchy that most doth maintain
 ‘ and countenance Religion, being the Chief Sanc-
 ‘ tuary for the afflicted Members of the Church
 ‘ that fly thither from the Tyranny of *Rome*, as
 ‘ Men being in Danger of Shipwrack, do from a
 ‘ raging and tempestuous Sea, to a calm and quiet
 ‘ Haven. This being so, What hath not the *Pope*
 ‘ essayed to annoy the Queen and her State, there-
 ‘ by, as he thinketh, to remove this great Obstacle
 ‘ that standeth between him and the over-flowing
 ‘ of the World again with Popery? For the Proof
 ‘ whereof these may suffice.

‘ The Northern Rebellion stirred up by the
 ‘ *Pope*, and the Quarrel for *Popery*.

‘ The Maintenance sithence of those Rebels
 ‘ and other Fugitives.

‘ The publishing of a most impudent, blasphemous
 ‘ and malicious Bull against our most Rightful
 ‘ Queen.

‘ The Invasion into *Ireland* by *James Fitz-*
 ‘ *Morrice*, with the Assistance of some English
 ‘ Rebels.

‘ The Raising of a dangerous Rebellion in *Ire-*
 ‘ *land* by the Earl of *Desmond* and others, in-
 ‘ tending thereby to make a general Revolt of all
 ‘ the whole Realm.

‘ The late Invasion of Strangers into *Ireland*,
 ‘ and their fortifying it.

‘ The *Pope* turned thus the Venom of his Cur-
 ‘ ses and the Pens of his malicious Parasites into
 ‘ Men of War and Weapons, to win that by

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Force, which otherwise he could not do. And though all these are said to be done by the *Pope*, and in his Name, yet who seeth not that they be maintained under-hand by some Princes his Confederates? And if any Man be in doubt of that, let him but note from whence the last Invasion into *Ireland* came, of what Country the Ships, and of what Nation the most Part of the Soldiers were, and by Direction of whose Ministers they received their Victual and Furniture.

For the *Pope* of himself at this present, is far unable to make War upon any Prince of that Estate which her Majesty is of, having lost, as you know, many Years, by the Preaching of the Gospel, those infinite Revenues which he was wont to have out of *England, Scotland, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark*, and others; and now out of *France* and the *Low-Countries*; so as we are to think that his Name only is used, and all, or the most Part of the Charge, born by others.

The Queen nevertheless by the Almighty Power of God standeth fast, maugre the *Pope* and all his Friends; having hitherto resisted all Attempts against her, to her great Honour, and their great Shame. As,

The Rebellion in the North suppressed without Effusion of Blood, wherein her Majesty may say as *Cæsar* did, *Veni, vidi, vici*; so expedite and so honourable was the Victory that God did give her, by the Diligence and Valour of those noble Men that had the Conducting thereof.

The Enterprize of *James Fitz-Morice* defeated, and himself slain.

The *Italians* pulled out by the Ears at *Smirwick* in *Ireland*, and cut in Pieces by the notable Service of a noble Captain and valiant Soldiers.

Neither these nor any other Threatnings or Fears of Danger hath, or doth make her to stagger or relent in the Cause of Religion; but like a constant Christian Princess, she still holdeth fast the Profession of the Gospel, that hath so long upholden her, and made us to live in Peace

‘ twenty two Years and more under her most Queen Elizabeth,
 ‘ gracious Government, free from those Troubles 1581.
 ‘ that our Neighbours have felt; so as this now
 ‘ seemeth to be our present State, a blessed, peace-
 ‘ able, and happy Time, for the which we are
 ‘ most bound to God, and to pray unto him for
 ‘ the Continuance thereof.

‘ But yet notwithstanding, seeing our Enemies
 ‘ sleep not, it behoveth us not to be careless, as
 ‘ though all were past; but rather to think, that
 ‘ there is but a Piece of the Storm over, and that
 ‘ the greater Part of the Tempest remaineth be-
 ‘ hind, and is like to fall upon us by the Malice
 ‘ of the *Pope*, the most Capital Enemy of the
 ‘ Queen and this State, the Determinations of the
 ‘ Council of *Trent*, and the Combination of the
 ‘ *Pope* with other Monarchies and Princes devoted
 ‘ unto *Rome*; assuring ourselves that if their Pow-
 ‘ ers be answerable to their Wills, this Realm shall
 ‘ find at their Hands all the Miseries and Extremities
 ‘ that they can bring upon it. And though by the
 ‘ late good Success which God hath given in *Ire-*
 ‘ *land*, these lewd and malicious Enterprizes seem
 ‘ for a Time to be as it were at a Stand; yet let
 ‘ us be assured, that neither their Attempts upon
 ‘ *Ireland*, neither the Mischiefs intended against
 ‘ *England* will cease thus; but if they find us ne-
 ‘ gligent, they will be ready with greater Forces
 ‘ than have been yet seen. The certain Determi-
 ‘ nation which the *Pope* and his combined Friends
 ‘ have to root out the Religion of the Gospel in
 ‘ all Places, and to begin here as their greatest Im-
 ‘ pediment, is Cause sufficient to make us the more
 ‘ vigilant, and to have a wary Eye to their Doings
 ‘ and Proceedings, how smoothly soever they speak
 ‘ or dissemble their Friendships for the Time: For
 ‘ let us think surely, that they have joined Hands
 ‘ together against us; and if they can, they will
 ‘ procure the Sparks of the Flames that have been
 ‘ so terrible in other Countries, to fly over into
 ‘ *England*, and to kindle as great a Fire here. And
 ‘ as the *Pope* by open Hostility, as you see, hath

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shewed himself against her Majesty; so the better to answer in Time the Purposes that he hath set down in the mean Season till they come to Ripeness, he hath and doth by secret Practices within this Realm leave nothing untried, emboldening many undutiful Subjects to stand fast in their Disobedience to her Majesty and her Laws. For albeit the pure Religion of the Gospel hath had a free Course, and hath been freely preached now many Years within this Realm by the Protection of her Majesty's most Christian Government; yet such have been the Practices of the *Pope* and his secret Ministers, as the obstinate and stiff necked *Papist* is so far from being reformed, as he hath gotten Stomach to go backward, and to shew his Disobedience not only in arrogant Words, but also in contemptuous Deeds.

To confirm them herein, and to increase their Number, you see how the *Pope* hath and doth comfort their hollow Hearts with Absolutions, Dispensations, Reconciliations, and such other Things of *Rome*. You see how lately he hath sent hither a Sort of Hypocrites, naming themselves *Jesuites*, a Rabble of vagrant Friars newly sprung up, and running through the World to trouble the Church of God; whose principal Errand is by creeping into the Houses of Men of Behaviour and Reputation, not only to corrupt the Realm with false Doctrine, but also under that Pretence, to stir up Sedition, to the Peril of her Majesty and her good Subjects.

How these Practices of the *Pope* have wrought in the disobedient Subjects of this Land, is both evident and lamentable to consider. For such Impression hath the Estimation of the *Pope's* Authority made in them, as not only those which from the Beginning have refused to obey, but many, yea, very many of those which divers Years together did yield and conform themselves in their open Actions, sithence the Decrees of that unholy Council of *Trent*, and sithence the
Pub-

‘ Publishing and Denouncing of that blasphemous
 ‘ Bull against her Majesty, and sithence those se-
 ‘ cret Absolutions and Reconciliations, and the
 ‘ swarming hither of a Number of *Papish* Priests
 ‘ and Monkish *Jesuites*, have and do utterly refuse
 ‘ to be of our Church, or to resort unto our
 ‘ Preaching and Prayers. The Sequel whereof
 ‘ must needs prove dangerous to the whole State of
 ‘ the Common-wealth.

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‘ By this you see what Cause we have justly to
 ‘ doubt great Mischief threatned to this Realm;
 ‘ and therewith you may easily see also how for
 ‘ the preventing and withstanding of the same, it
 ‘ behoveth her Majesty not only to provide in
 ‘ Time sufficient Laws for the continuing of this
 ‘ peaceable Government; but also to be ready with
 ‘ Forces to repress all Attempts that may be enter-
 ‘ prized either by Enemies abroad, or by evil Sub-
 ‘ jects at Home.’

‘ What Difference there is between the *Pope’s*
 ‘ persecuting Church, and this mild Church of the
 ‘ Gospel, hath been seen in all Ages, and especial-
 ‘ ly in the late Government compared with the
 ‘ merciful Time of her Majesty’s Reign; the
 ‘ Continuance of which Clemency is also to be
 ‘ wished, so far as may stand with God’s Honour
 ‘ and the Safety of the Realm: But when by
 ‘ long Proof we find, that this favourable and
 ‘ gentle Manner of dealing with the Disobeyers,
 ‘ and Contemners of Religion, to win them by fair
 ‘ Means if it were possible, hath done no good, but
 ‘ hath bred in them a more arrogant and contemp-
 ‘ tuous Spirit, so as they have not only presumed
 ‘ to disobey the Laws and Orders of the Realm,
 ‘ but also to accept from *Rome* secret Absolutions,
 ‘ Reconciliations, and such like; and that by the
 ‘ Hands of lewd Runagates, Priests and *Jesuites*,
 ‘ harbouring and entertaining them even in their
 ‘ Houses; thereby shewing an Obedience to the
 ‘ *Pope*, by their Direction also nourishing and train-
 ‘ ing up their Children and Kinsfolks, not only at
 ‘ Home, but also Abroad in the Seminaries of

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‘ *Poper* ; now I say it is Time for us to look
‘ more narrowly and strictly to them, lest as they
‘ be corrupt, so they prove dangerous Members
‘ to many born within the Entrails of our Com-
‘ mon-Wealth.

‘ And seeing that the Lenity of the Time and
‘ the Mildness of the Laws heretofore made, are
‘ no small Cause of their arrogant Disobedience,
‘ it is necessary that we make a Provision of Laws
‘ more strict and more severe ; to constrain them
‘ to yield their open Obedience, at the least, to
‘ her Majesty in Causes of Religion, and not to
‘ live as they list, to the perilous Example of
‘ others, and to the Encouraging of their own
‘ evil affected Minds: But if they will needs sub-
‘ mit themselves to the Benediction of the *Pope*,
‘ they may feel how little his Curses can hurt us,
‘ and how little his Blessings can save them from
‘ that Punishment which we are able to lay upon
‘ them ; letting them also find, how dangerous it
‘ shall be for them to deal with the *Pope*, or any
‘ thing of his, or with those *Romish* Priests and
‘ *Jesuites* ; and therewith also how perillous it
‘ shall be for those seditious Runagates to enter
‘ into the Land, to draw away from her Majesty
‘ that Obedience which by the Laws of God and
‘ Man are due unto her.

‘ This then is one of the Provisions which we
‘ ought to take care of in this Council, whereby
‘ we may both enjoy still that happy Peace we
‘ live in, and the *Pope* take the less Boldness to
‘ trouble us, by any Favour he shall find here.

‘ The next is Provision of Forces sufficient to
‘ answer any Violence that may be offered either
‘ here or abroad ; for the which you know it is
‘ requisite that her Majesty do make Preparation
‘ both by Sea and by Land.

‘ God hath placed this Kingdom in an Island
‘ environed with the Sea as with a natural and
‘ strong Wall, whereby we are not subject to those
‘ sudden Invasions which other Frontier Countries
‘ be. One of our greatest Defences standing by
‘ Sea,

‘ Sea, the Number of good Ships is of the most Importance for us. What the Queen’s Navy is, how many notable Ships, and how far behind is the Navy of any other Prince, is known to all Men ; and therewith also it may be easily considered how great Charges be incident to the same.

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‘ Necessary also it is, that her Majesty have Forces by Land sufficient to chastise the Rebels in Ireland, and to repress any foreign Attempts either there or here. For which Services either by Land or by Sea, her Majesty needeth not as other Princes are fain to do, to entertain necessary Soldiers of Foreign Countries hardly gotten, costly and dangerously kept, and in the end, little or no Service done them ; but may bring sufficient Forces of her own natural Subjects, ready and easy to be levied, that carry with them willing, valiant, and faithful Minds, such as few Nations may easily compare with. But these Forces with their Furniture and Munition, can neither be prepared nor maintained to have Continuance, without Provision of Treasure sufficient to bear the Charge, being as you know termed of old, *Nervus Belli*.

‘ This belongeth to us to consider, and that in Time there be not Lack of the Sinews that must hold together the Strength of our Body. And because through the Malice of our Enemies, her Majesty is driven to keep great Forces in Ireland, for the better Suppressing of that Rebellion to her exceeding Charge ; and for that also it is uncertain, how sudden and how great other Attempts may be ; therefore in Reason, our Supply of that Maintenance ought to be the more, especially the Wars being at this Day so costly as every Man in his private Expence may easily judge. But lest that peradventure some may judge, that the Contribution granted by us now five Years past, both frankly and dutifully, might suffice for many Years without any new ; I dare assure you for the Acquaintance I have (though I be

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‘ unworthy) with those her Majesty’s Affairs, that
 ‘ the same hath not been sufficient to answer the
 ‘ extraordinary Charges happen’d since then, espe-
 ‘ cially those of *Ireland*, by the one Half; but her
 ‘ Majesty hath supplied the rest out of her own
 ‘ Revenues, sparing from herself to serve the Ne-
 ‘ cessity of the Realm, and shunning thereby
 ‘ Loans upon Interest, as a most pestilent Canker
 ‘ that is able to devour even the States of Princes.
 ‘ Which being so, as it is most true, we are not
 ‘ to think upon the Charge that is past, but the
 ‘ Good we have received by it, being by that Pro-
 ‘ vision well and honourably defended against the
 ‘ Malice of our Enemies. And therefore confi-
 ‘ dering the great Benefit we have received by the
 ‘ last Payment, being easily taxed and easily born,
 ‘ whereby we have kept all the rest in Peace; let
 ‘ us as provident Counsellors of this State, prepare
 ‘ again in Time that which may be able to with-
 ‘ stand the Mischiefs intended against us. To do
 ‘ this willingly and liberally, our Duty to our
 ‘ Queen and Country, and our Safeties move us.
 ‘ The Love and Duty that we owe to our most
 ‘ gracious Queen, by whose Ministry God hath
 ‘ done so great Things for us, even such as be
 ‘ wonderful in the Eyes of the World, ought to
 ‘ make us more careful for her Preservation and
 ‘ Security than for our own. A Princess known
 ‘ by long Experience to be a principal Patron of
 ‘ the Gospel, virtuous, wife, faithful, just, un-
 ‘ spotted in Word and Deed, merciful, temperate,
 ‘ a Maintainer of Peace and Justice amongst her
 ‘ People without respect to Persons; a Queen be-
 ‘ sides of this noble Realm, our Native Country,
 ‘ renoyned of the World, which our Enemies
 ‘ daily gape to over-run, if by Force or Sleight
 ‘ they could do it: For such a Queen and such a
 ‘ Country, and for the Defence of the Honour
 ‘ and Safety of them both, nothing ought to be
 ‘ dear unto us, that with most willing Hearts we
 ‘ should not spend and adventure freely.

‘ The

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‘ The same Love and Duty that we owe to our gracious Sovereign, and to this our Native Country, ought to make us all think upon the Realm of *Ireland* as upon a principal Member of this Crown, having continued so this four Hundred Years or more. To lose that Land, or any Part thereof, which the Enemies seek, would not only bring with it Dishonour, but also prove a Thing most dangerous to *England*; considering the Nearness of that Realm to this, and the Goodness of so many notable Havens as be there. Again, to reform that Nation by planting therein Religion and Justice, which the Enemies labour to interrupt, is most godly and necessary; the Neglecting whereof hath, and will continue that People in all Irreligion and Disorder, to the great Offence of God, and to the infinite Charge of this Realm.

‘ Finally, let us be mindful also of our Safety, thereby to avoid so great Dangers, not seen afar off, but imminent over our Heads.

‘ The Quietness that we have by the peaceable Government of her Majesty, doth make us to enjoy all that is ours in more Freedom than any Nation under the Sun at this Day: But let not that breed in us a careless Security, as though this clear Sun-light could never be darkened; but let us think certainly that the *Pope* and his Favourers do both envy our Felicity. and leave no Practice unsought to overthrow the same. And if any Man be so dull (as I trust there be none here) that he cannot conceive the Blessedness of this our golden Peace, except he felt the Lack of it; let him but cast his Eyes over the Seas, into our Neighbour’s Countries, and there behold what Trouble the *Pope* and his Ministers have stirred against such as profess the same Religion of *Jesus Christ* as we do: There he may find Depopulations and Devastations of whole Provinces and Countries; Over-throwing, Spoiling, and Sacking of Cities and Towns; Imprisoning, Ransoming, and Murthering of all Kind of People; besides
‘ other

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‘ other infinite Calamities which the Insolency of War doth usually bring with it.

‘ From these God in his Mercy hath delivered us; but this nevertheless is the State and Condition that our Enemies would see us in, if by any Device they could bring it to pass; and to that End, be then assured, they will spare no Cost, nor leave any Means unessayed.

‘ Therefore to conclude. Seeing the Malice of the *Pope* and his Confederates are so notorious unto us, and seeing the Dangers be so great, so evident, and so imminent; and seeing that Preparations to withstand them cannot be made without Support of the Realm; and seeing that our Duties to God, our Queen and Country, and the Necessity that hangeth upon our own Safe-guards, be Reasons sufficient to persuade us; let us think upon these Matters as the Weight of them deserveth; and so provide in Time both by Laws to restrain and correct the evil affected Subjects, and by Provision of that which shall be requisite for the Maintenance of Forces, as our Enemies finding our Minds so willing, and our Hands so ready to keep our Country in Order, and to furnish her Majesty with all that shall be necessary, may either be discouraged to attempt any thing against us, or if they do, they may find such Resistance, as shall bring Confusion to themselves, Honour to our most gracious Queen, and Safety to us all.’

Committees appointed accordingly.

‘ Mr. *Norton* pursued the same Admonition, and required the House to proceed to a Manner of executing it; which in his Opinion was to appoint all the Privy-Council of this House, and certain other fit Persons, to consult of Bills convenient to be framed according to the said Motion to be presented to the House; which Motion also was well allowed, and Committees appointed to meet in the Exchequer-Chamber that Afternoon at Two of the Clock, viz. All the Privy-Council of this House, Sir *Thomas Heneage*, Treasurer of the Cham-

Chamber, the Masters of Requests, Sir *George Cary*, Knight-Marshal, Mr. *Fortescue*, Master of the Wardrobe, Mr. Recorder of *London*, Mr. Serjeant *Fenner*, Mr. Serjeant *Fleetwood*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *William More*, Sir *Thomas Scott*, Sir *John Brockett*, Sir *Henry Radclyffe*, Mr. *Yelverton*, Sir *Henry Gates*, Mr. *Hutton*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Henry Leigh*, Mr. *Woolley*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Henry Knivett*, Mr. *Norton*, Mr. *Aldersey*, Sir *Rowland Hayward*, Mr. *Matthews*, Sir *Robert Wingfield*, Sir *Thomas Porter*, Sir *Thomas Perrot*, Mr. *John Price*, Mr. *Aylmer*, Sir *George Speke*, Mr. Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir *Thomas Cecill*, Sir *Arthur Bassett*, Mr. *Crooke*, Mr. *Robert Wroth*, Mr. *Edward Lewkenor*, Mr. *Thompson*, Mr. *Layton*, Mr. *Edward Stanhope*, Mr. *Charles Morrison*, Mr. *Gilbert Talbot*, Mr. *Edward Cary*, Mr. *Peter Wentworth*, Mr. *Sandys*, Sir *Robert Stapleton*, Sir *Nicholas St. Leger*, Sir *James Mervin*, Sir *William Winter*, Sir *Edward Upton*, Mr. *Fabian Philipps*, Mr. *Edgcombe*, Sir *Henry Woodhouse*, Mr. *Peyton*, and Mr. *Digby*.

Queen Elizabeth.
1581.

There were very few Debates on any considerable Points this Session; the Bill for a Supply being pass'd without any. There are also many Orders and Regulations relating to Elections, &c. but none of them are material enough for our Purpose. The House also thought fit to petition the Queen, on the old Score of making some farther Reformation in Religion. But this was touched so tenderly, in the Petition, that she thought fit to give them a favourable Answer to it: On which the House came to a Resolution to take no more Notice of this Affair, but to leave it to the Speaker, in his Speech at the End of the Session, to recommend this Reformation to her Majesty, as he thought proper.

On the 18th Day of *March*, the Queen came to the House of Lords, in the Afternoon, when the Speaker of the Commons, &c. being admitted, on the presenting of the Bills to her Majesty, he spoke to this Effect:

' That

Queen Elizabeth.
1581.

The Speaker's
Speech to the
Queen on pre-
senting Bills for
the Royal Assent.

‘ That the chief and principal Purpose in making of Laws did consist of three principal Parts, to wit, The first, for the true and sincere Service and Glory of God; Secondly, for the Surety and Preservation of her Majesty's most Royal Person; and Thirdly, for the Good, Quiet, and Benefit of the Common-Wealth of this her Highness's Realm and Subjects of the same; ascribing the sincere and plentiful Preaching of God's Word, with the due and right Use of Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and the true Exercise and Discipline in the Churches, to be the ordinary Means both of the Advancement of God's Glory, her Majesty's Safety, and of her Subjects Prosperity; the Dew of the Word watering and bringing forth in all good Christian Consciences, the true Knowledge and Fear of God, faithful Love and due Obedience unto her Majesty, and perfect Unity in the general Society, of this Common-Wealth. And the Exercise of the Sword of Discipline to cut off, repress and correct all Excesses and Errors tending to the Impeachment of all good Effects aforesaid. Declaring further unto her Highness, that her Majesty's Nobles and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, had very carefully, gravely, and dutifully travelled in this present Session, to devise and ordain good and wholesome Laws for those Ends and Purposes, to be established and allowed by her Highness; and also, some other good and necessary Laws, as well for the whole State of the Common-Wealth in general, as for the private Benefit and necessary Relief of fundry her Majesty's particular good Subjects: And so recommending all the same unto her Highness, and especially two of them, whereof one doth chiefly and principally tend to the Bridling and Reforming of her Majesty's disobedient and obstinate Subjects, the utter Adversaries of true Religion, and the most pernicious and dangerous Enemies of her Highness's most Royal Person, State and Government; the second, for the due Maintenance and Preservation of her Majesty's Honour, good Fame and

and Dignity; humbly besought her Majesty to give Life unto all the said Laws by her Royal Assent. Queen Elizabeth.
1581. And then yielding unto her Highness most humble Thanks, in the Name of the whole House, for her Majesty's most gracious Acceptation of their most humble Petition unto her Highness for Reformation of some Abuses yet remaining in the Church; and most humbly renewing the speedy Consideration thereof unto her Majesty's good Remembrance at her good Will and Pleasure, did further most humbly beseech her Highness, in the Name and Behalf of the whole State of the Commons of her Realm, that her Majesty would (at their most humble Suit, the rather) have a vigilant and provident Care of the Safety of her most Royal Person, against the malicious Attempts of some mighty foreign Enemies Abroad, and the traiterous Practices of most unnatural disobedient Subjects both Abroad and at Home, envying the blessed and most happy and quiet Government of this Realm under her Highness; upon the Thread of whose Life only, next under God, dependeth the Life and whole State and Stay of every her good and dutiful Subjects.'

'And withal, that it might please her Highness to have such good Care and Regard generally for the Maintenance of Mariners, and of Navigation, the very Strength and Walls of her Majesty's Realms and Dominions, as may seem most convenient unto her Highness's most godly Wisdom from Time to Time. And so declaring, that her Majesty's Nobles and Commons, having had Consideration of her Highness's great Charges many Ways for Defence of her Realms and People against foreign Enemies, and rebellious Subjects, both already employed, and hereafter to be employed, have granted unto her Highness one *Subsidy*, and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, which they besought her Highness to accept in good Part according to their humble Duties; and gave her Majesty most humble Thanks for her Highness's most gracious, general and free Pardon.'

'Which

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Queen Elizabeth.
1581.

The Lord Chan-
cellor's Answer.

' Which done, the Lord Chancellor by her Majesty's Commandment, answering very excellently and briefly the Parts of Mr. Speaker's Oration, did amongst other Things deliver her Majesty's most hearty Thanks unto both Houses, for their great and good Care for the Safety of her Highness's Person, and also of her Honour, good Fame and Dignity; not yet comprehending within those general Thanks, such Members of the House of Commons as have this Session dealt more rashly in some Things than was fit for them to do; and giving them withal like hearty Thanks for the said Contribution of a *Subsidy* and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, in that it was granted as willingly and frankly, and also as largely and amply, and to be answered as speedily, as any other like ever hath been; taking the same in as good Part as if it had been to her own private Use; where in very deed it is to be employed to the general Service and Benefit of the whole Realm.'

' Then giving her Royal Assent to fifteen public and fifteen private Bills, (among which was one for the Restitution in Blood of *Philip*, Earl of *Arundele*, eldest Son to the late Duke of *Norfolk*) the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament to the 24th of *April*.'

We have now another Chain of Adjournments, from Time to Time, of the same Parliament, for three Years more. During this, except the Affair of the still imprison'd Queen of *Scots* which will be treated of in the Sequel, there is nothing to our Purpose. The Prorogations succeeded one another in this Order: From

<i>A. R.</i> 23, <i>Apr.</i> 24th to	<i>A. R.</i> <i>Jan.</i> 18th.
<i>May</i> 29th.	<i>Feb.</i> 12th.
<i>June</i> 12th.	<i>Mar.</i> 12th.
<i>June</i> 28th.	<i>Apr.</i> 26th.
<i>July</i> 27th.	<i>May</i> 26th.
<i>Aug.</i> 22d.	<i>Oct.</i> 10th.
<i>Oct.</i> 5th.	25, <i>Nov.</i> 30th.
24, <i>Nov.</i> 24th.	<i>Jan.</i> 24.
<i>Dec.</i> 5th.	<i>Apr.</i> 19th.
	On

On which last mentioned Day, *April 19th, 1583*, Queen Elizabeth.
the Parliament being met, the Lord Chancellor de- 1583.
livered a Commission from the Queen, directed
to himself, and many of the Peers, to the Clerk
of Parliament to be read. By which Commission,
which is very long, including the Dates of all
the Prorogations from the first Session of this Par-
liament, they were authorized to dissolve it. Ac-
cordingly, this Parliament was dissolved, after it
had subsisted, in a very unusual Manner, very near
eleven Years.

The Parliament,
at last, dissolv'd,
after Eighteen
more Proroga-
tions.

The unhappy Queen of *Scots* had now been a
Prisoner in *England* fifteen Years, under the Cus-
tody of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, at *Sheffield-Man-*
nor, in *Yorkshire*; but was, about this Time, taken
from thence and put under the Custody of Sir
Amias Pawlet and Sir *Dreue Drury*, at *Fotheringhay*
Castle in *Northamptonshire*. *Mary* had oftentimes
represented the Hardship of this Imprisonment to
her Kinswoman *Elizabeth*, but never more pathe-
tically, than in a long Letter she wrote to her,
dated at *Sheffield*, *Nov. 8. 1582*. *Cambden* hath
given us an Abstract of this Letter from the Ori-
ginal *French*, (q) in which the poor Prisoner hath
represented her miserable Case, in Words that would
move a Heart of Adamant. Our Author says,
that *Elizabeth* was sensibly touched with this Let-
ter; and that she and her Council had agreed on
some Terms, on which *Mary*, might not only be
released, but restored to her Kingdom, and have a
Share in the Government with her Son. One
Article of which was, that *Mary* should forbear
to claim any Right to the *English* Crown, during
Queen *Elizabeth's* Life; and afterwards, be con-
tent to refer the Title of Succession to the Judg-
ment of an *English* Parliament. But all this came
to nothing; the unhappy Politics of both King-
doms, at that Time, of which *Protestantism* was
the Basis, made it absolutely necessary that this
Popish Queen should not only be kept a Prisoner,
but even sacrificed for its Security.

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Queen Elizabeth.
1585.

As to foreign Affairs, the growing Greatness of *Spain* was now to be dreaded; the *Pope*, the *Cardinals*, and all the *Italian* Princes, were in that Interest. The House of *Austria*, also, was linked to it; add to this, the late Acquisition of *Portugal*, with the immense Riches of *Mexico* and *Peru*, made *Philip* far more powerful and formidable than ever his Father *Charles V.* was. And, since now that *William* Prince of *Orange* and *Francis* Duke of *Anjou* were both dead, if he should once reduce the *Netherlands* under his Power, all the Princes in *Christendom* must submit to *Spain*, and to an universal Monarchy. (r)

Whilst Things were in this Situation Abroad, Queen *Elizabeth* thought proper to call a new Parliament at Home, the Exigences of the Times requiring it. Writs were sent out for one to meet at *Westminster*, on the 23d Day of *November*, in the 27th Year of this Reign. (s)

Anno Regni 27.
1585.
At Westminster.

The *Journals* of the Lords are now a little more particular in the Recital of their daily Proceedings, than of late Years. We are told that, on the Meeting, the Lord Chancellor, *Bromley*, opened the Cause of the Summons, by the Queen's Command, being seated on the Throne, in a short, but accurate Speech for that Purpose. (t) The Receivers and Tryers of Petitions, according to antient Custom, being appointed, in *French*, the next Day the Commons presented *John Puckering* Esq; Serjeant at Law, to the Queen, for their Speaker, who, with the usual Ceremonies, was admitted. No particular Speeches being entered, in either *Journal*, at the Meeting of this Parliament.

John Puckering,
Esq; elected
Speaker.

On the 21st of *December*, the Queen by her Letters Patents, adjourned the Parliament to the

(r) About this Time the Queen published a Declaration of the Causes moving her to give Aid, for the Defence of the People afflicted and oppressed in the *Low Countries*. See *Cambden in Appendice*, Page 654.

(s) *Dugdale* has omitted this Summons.

(t) —brevis (nam ita imperatum erat) sed accurata Peroratione.

4th of February following, on account of *Christ-Queen Elizabeth.*
mas Holy-Days. 1585.

Two Days before the said Adjournment happened, a remarkable Bill was sent up by the Commons, entitled, *A Bill against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other such disobedient Persons*: On the first Day of their Meeting, after the Adjournment, this Bill was reassumed; and on the first Reading in the House of Lords, was committed to a Committee of four Bishops and nine Temporal Lords. We hear no more of this Bill till March the 10th, when a Conference was desired by the lower House with some of the Lords about it. On the same Day another was sent up with this Title, *An Act for the Security of her Majesty's most Royal Person, and continuing the Realm in Peace.*

March 15th, the *Jesuits's* Bill passed the House of Lords with some Amendments, agreed to by both Houses, and afterwards became a Statute (u). By it was enacted, 'That they, and all other *Papish* Priests, should depart the Realm within forty Days. That those who should afterwards return into the Kingdom, should be guilty of *High-Treason*. That he, who shall wittingly and willingly harbour, relieve, and maintain them, should be guilty of *Felony*; That those *English* who were brought up in Seminaries Abroad, if they returned within six Months after Notice given, and submitted not themselves to the Queen, before a Bishop or two Justices, they should be guilty of *High-Treason*. And if any, so submitting themselves, should within ten Years approach the Queen's Court, or come within ten Miles thereof, their Submission should be void. That they, who by any Means whatsoever, should send or convey over any Money to Students in such Seminaries, should incur the Penalty of a *Præmunire* (x). That if any of the Peers of the Realm, Dukes, Marquisses,

An Act against
Jesuits, Semina-
ry Priests, &c.

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(u) *Camden in Kennet.* Page 503.

(x) That is perpetual Exile and Loss of all their Goods;

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1585.

Viscounts, or Barons of Parliament, should offend against these Laws, he should be brought to his Trial by his Peers. That if any should know of any such *Jesuits*, or other Priests, above said, lurking within the Realm, and should not discover them within twelve Days, he should be fined and imprisoned at the Queen's Pleasure. That if any Man should be suspected to be a *Jesuit* or Priest, aforesaid, and not submit himself to Examination, he should, for his Contempt, be imprisoned till he did submit. That he who should send his Children, or any others, to Seminaries and Colleges of the *Papish* Profession, should be fined one Hundred Pounds *English* Money: And that those, who were so sent thither, should not succeed as Heirs, nor enjoy any Estates, which should any Way fall to them; the like for all such as should not return Home from the said Seminaries, within a Year, unless they did conform themselves to the Church of *England*. That if the Wardens or Officers of the Ports should permit any others, besides Seamen or Merchants, to cross the Seas, without Licence from the Queen or six Privy-Counsellors, they should be put out of their Places; and the Masters of such Ships as carried them, should forfeit their Ships and Goods, and suffer Imprisonment for a whole Year.

It must be allow'd that the Policy of this Act is worthy the Contrivance of a *Cecil* and a *Walsingham*; the two principal Ministers of this Reign. By it, *Papery* was not only eradicated and driven out of the Kingdom, but every Cranny stopp'd up to prevent its Return. *Cambden* informs us that the Bill met with no Opposition, in either House, but, only, from one Member of the Commons. This Man's Name was *William Parry*, a *Welshman*, and a Civilian; who, pleading against it, said, that *it was a cruel, bloody and desperate Law, and would be of pernicious Consequence to the English Nation*. Being desired to shew his Reasons, he obstinately refused, unless it was before the Queen's

Queen's Council. Upon this he was taken into Custody; but, his Reasons being afterwards heard, and Submission made, he was admitted again into the House. Tho', this zealous Man had better have held his Tongue; for, very soon after, he was accused of being in a Plot to subvert the Government, and take away the Queen's Life; was found guilty and executed, as a Traitor for it, before the Palace-Gate at *Westminster*, whilst the Parliament was yet sitting (y).

Queen Elizabeth.
1585.

Another strong Bulwark was framed this Parliament, for Support of the present Government; and that was a Bill mentioned before, for the Surety of the Queen's Royal Person, and the Continuance of Peace in the Realm. This was a Stroke, aimed, directly, at the Queen of *Scots* and her Title, and whoever durst attempt to set it up. It was read a third Time in the House of Lords and passed, *March* the 13th; and by it an *Association*, as it is here called, was established; the first of this Kind we have yet met with. Thereby it was enacted,

' That Twenty four, or more, of the Privy-Council and House of Lords, to be deputed by the Queen's Commission, should make Inquisition after all such as should invade the Kingdom, raise Rebellion, or attempt to hurt or destroy the Queen's Person, for or by whomsoever employed that might lay Claim to the Crown of *England*. And that the Person, for whom or by whom they should attempt the same, should be utterly incapable of any Title to the Crown, be deprived wholly of all Right to it, and prosecuted to Death by all faithful Subjects; if the Person should be judged, by these Twenty four Men, to be guilty of such Rebellion, Invasion, or treasonable Attempt, and by publick Proclamation so declared.'

An Act for the
Surety of the
Queen's Person.

These severe Laws, which however, says *Cambden*, the Necessities of the Times required, drove

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the

(y) See *Cambden*, Page 501, &c. Also, a long Account of this Conspiracy and *Parr*'s Confession, &c. in *Hollingshead's Chronicle*, from Page 1384, to 1395.

Queen Elizabeth.
1585.

the *Catholics* here to very great Straits; many of them stole out of the Kingdom; and, if the Laws had been put in full Execution against them, in all Probability, we should not have had one antient *Popish* Family residing in it at this Day. But, afterwards, when *their Sovereign* was taken off, Matters went easier with them, and they were suffered to live unmolested for the rest of this Reign.

But, there was then another Party in the Kingdom whom it was necessary to guard against, and that was the *Puritans*: The Queen was very well acquainted with their Principles; but the nobler Game of *Popery*, being then in full Cry to hunt down, these were tolerated because they readily joined in the Pursuit. And many of the Members having imbib'd their Tenets, which the Queen herself, in her Speech, at the End of this Session, calls *New-fangledness*, a Bill was proposed and pass'd in the House of Commons, plainly tending to reform the Church, much further than it had hitherto been carried.

How long, or what Debates had been in that House about this Bill, will best appear in their *Journal*; for it was not till the latter End of this Session that it was sent up to the Lords, where we find it under this broken Title, *Die Martis 28^o Martii, Hodie allata est a Dom. Com.*

Bill for a further
Reformation in
the Church.

' An Act of a Statute made
' *Anno* 13. of the Queen's Majesty's Reign, entitled, An Act to reform certain Disorders touching Ministers of the Church. *Quæ prima Vice lecta est.*

What the Blank was to be filled up with is left to the Reader's Judgment; but since it was quashed at the first Reading in this House, for it is not mentioned again, it is probable the Title was left so blind, in order to disguise it to Posterity. The Act made in the 13th Year of this Reign, for Re-forming Abuses in the Church, is explained before in the Course of this Volume (y.) It was then made against the *Puritans*; but now they thought they had

(y) See before Page 101.

had Power enough to turn it against the Church. Queen Elizabeth.
1585.
Mr. *Cambden*'s own Account of this Attempt will best justify the Assertion. This Author writes that (z)

‘ In this Parliament some there were, who, out
‘ of a Desire, either of Innovation or Reforma-
‘ tion, struck deeply at the Ecclesiastical Order,
‘ though the Queen had forbid it. By bringing in
‘ of Bills for restraining the Episcopal Jurisdiction
‘ in granting of Faculties; in conferring holy Or-
‘ ders; in Ecclesiastical Censures, and in the Oath
‘ *ex Officio*. Proposing a new Oath to be taken by
‘ the Bishops in the Chancery and the King's Bench,
‘ viz, that they should act nothing contrary to the
‘ common Law of *England*. They, also, requi-
‘ red Residence from the Clergy, that every Mini-
‘ ster should be resident at his own Cure; and ex-
‘ claimed against the Church of *England* as if it
‘ was destitute of able and learned Pastors, which,
‘ without Doubt, had more learned Pastors, at
‘ this Present, than any other Age or any other
‘ Reformed Church could shew. But the Queen,
‘ who had a high Esteem for moderate Church-
‘ men, misliked Innovators, as always chang-
‘ ing for the worse, as tending to overthrow her
‘ Prerogative, and the Supreme Authority granted
‘ to her in Ecclesiastical Matters.’ — Thus
far the *Historian* of this Reign.

On the 13th of *March*, the Commons sent up
a Grant of a Supply to her Majesty, consisting of
one entire *Subsidy*, which was Two Shillings and A Subsidy.
Eight Pence on Goods, and Four Shillings on
Lands, according to *Stowe* (a); and two *Fifteenths*
and *Tenths*. On the second Reading, the Lords
drop'd the *Tenths*; and it was passed so by the prin-
ted Statutes. An Act for a Subsidy of six Shillings
in the Pound, from the Clergy, to be paid in three
Years, was, also, confirmed this Session.

There are also several Tryals, on Appeals, enter-
ed in the Lord's *Journals*, but none of them to

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our

(z) *Cambden* in *Keunet*, Page 503.

(a) *Stowe's Chron.* Page 702.

Queen Elizabeth. 1585. our Purpose. Nor is there any Thing else material to the last Day of the Session, which we shall postpone to see what the Commons were doing.

The first Bill of Moment read in that House, was, for the better and more reverend Observance of the Sabbath-Day. *Nov. 27th*, this Bill was committed to a large Number of Members, there named, to consider of it; who, we find, framed a new one, which was read; but did not pass the two Houses without much Dispute and great Difficulty; Amendments upon Amendments being added to it.

A Bill for the better Observation of the Sabbath.

Nov. 28th, Sir *Walter Mildmay*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, taking Occasion to speak of the sudden Calling of this Parliament, at such an unreasonable Time of the Year, and the Likelihood of the short Continuance of it, did thereupon declare the same to be called for very urgent and necessary Causes.

Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Vice-Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household, spake next; and, as it seems, much to the same Effect as the Chancellor; but both these Speeches are omitted in the *Journals*, though they lasted above two Hours. At the End of which a Committee was appointed to consider of a Supply.

Notwithstanding the Queen's Injunctions to the contrary, yet this House could not forbear to enter still deeper into Religious Matters; and on *Decem. 14th*, three Petitions were read touching the Liberty of godly Preachers, to exercise and continue their Ministry; and also, for the speedy Supply of able and sufficient Men into divers Places, now destitute of the ordinary Means of Salvation. But though the further Proceedings in this were deferred to a more convenient Time by the House, yet, one Dr. *Turner* rose up and put the House in Mind of a Bill with a Book which he had offered to them; and, as he said, this Bill and Book being framed by certain godly and learned Ministers, tending, as he conceived, to the Glory of God, the Safety of her Majesty, and the Good of the Com-

Common-Wealth; therefore prayed that it might be read. To this, Sir *Francis Knolles* replied, but in few Words; and after him Sir *Christopher Hatton* more largely; who pressed and moved the House so much therein, that it was at length resolved that the said Bill and Book should not be read. And, as to all necessary Liberty to the aforesaid Ministers, or a Supply of able Men in Places that wanted, it was not doubted but that her Majesty would take some speedy Order about them. Then Sir *Christopher Hatton* moved that for the better and more speedy Expedition of other great Matters now in Hand, the House would proceed to the Reading of a Bill, lately finished, for the Safety and Preservation of the Queen's Royal Person. And the rather because he conceived they would shortly be adjourned till after *Christmas*.

Queen Elizabeth.
1585.

By such Evasions as these, the Courtiers found Means to prevent the zealous Part of the House from going upon Matters so very disagreeable to the Queen.

But, being prevented in this, their Zeal was the more turned to the utter Extirpation of *Popery* out of the Kingdom. The Bill against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and such like disobedient Subjects was carried through this House with great Vigour. It passed with little or no Opposition, but from Dr. *Parry*, mentioned before. The *Journals* of the Commons are more particular, than the *Historian* before quoted, about this Affair, which we shall give in their own Words as follows;

'The Bill, upon the Reading, passed the House with little or no Argument, except it were from one Dr. *Parry*, who in very violent Terms spake directly against the whole Bill; affirming it to favour of Treasons, to be full of Blood, Danger, Despair, and Terror or Dread to the *English* Subjects of this Realm, our Brethren, Uncles, and Kinsfolks; and also full of Confiscations, but unto whom? Not, said he, to her Majesty, (which he wished they were) and said, he did not think the contrary but that Zeal would cause the Bill to have

Dr. *Parry* violently opposes the Bill against Jesuits and Seminary Priests, &c.

Queen Elizabeth.
1585.

have Passage both in this House and with the Lords; but yet he hoped when it should come into her Highness's most merciful Hands, that it would stay and rest there; until which Time (he said) he would reserve his Reasons of his negative Voice against the Bill, then to be discovered by him only unto her Majesty.

‘Whereupon Dr. Parry, by Order of this House, was appointed to be sequestred into the outer Room of this House into the Serjeant's Custody, and without conferring with any, whilst the Matter now in Question, concerning his former Speeches against the Bill last passed, is in Debating or Arguing, until he shall be called in again. And afterwards, being brought to the Bar, and there kneeling upon his Knee, he was told by Mr. Speaker in Name of the whole House, That if he thought good, the House was contented to hear him what Reasons he could yield for himself in Maintenance of his said Speeches against the aforesaid Bill, to the better Satisfaction of this House; or what other Matter of Excuse he could alledge touching his former Contempt, uttered in the Presence of this said House, in very unseemly Manner, and in unfitting Words, in that he did speak so directly, reproachfully and absolutely against a Bill, first travelled in, and publickly allowed of in the House; and then considerately and maturely perused and digested by so great and grave a Committee, selected and framed out of the ablest Members of this House, who having further diligently and dutifully laboured therein, and brought it again into the House with one unanimous Approbation of it as of a good and necessary Bill; and that, lastly, it had been also so approved of this Day, and upon the third Reading had passed the House; and yet, that he, the said Dr. Parry, had termed the said Bill to be a Bill favouring of Treasons, and to be full of Confiscations, Blood, Danger, Despair, and Terror to the Subjects of this Realm; and withal, that he would well prove and justify the same by good Reasons, which nevertheless (he said) he would not deliver

deliver to this House; but would reserve them only to be revealed to her Majesty. Whereupon being further demanded, as aforesaid, What further Excuse or Defence he could make for himself? He answered, That what he had said (and bound it with a Protestation) was without any Intent of Offence towards the Queen's Majesty (to whom he owed all dutiful Obedience) or towards the House; and made Repetition of his said former Words, and still avowed the Justification of the same. And so entering into some Declaration of his own Estate tending altogether to his own Credit, as of his sundry good Services done to her Majesty, his Reputation with Persons of good Sort, and other such like Speeches in his own Commendation; concluded in the End, that as before when he spake to the Bill, and gave his negative Voice to the same, he then concealed his said Reasons from this House, so he would now conceal the same still.

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‘ Whereupon being sequestred again, it was resolved, That for that he did speak to the Bill, and gave his negative Voice so directly and undutifully, and in Contempt of this House would not shew his Reasons for the same, being merely against the ancient Orders and Usage of this High Court, and not for that he said he would shew them only to be discovered to her Majesty, it was resolved, That he should be committed to the Serjeant's Ward till the Matter shall be further considered of by this House, the Day being then very far spent.’

‘ The next Day Mr. Vice-Chamberlain declared unto the House, that her Majesty having been made privy unto the Misbehaviour of Doctor Parry Yesterday shewed in this House, and of the Order of this House taken therein with him for the same; her Highness doth not only deem him to have given just Cause of Offence unto this House in the same his Misdemeanor, but also doth very well allow of the grave Discretion of this House, in forbearing for the Time to use any sharp Course of Correction against him for his said Offence; in respect that he had said he reserved his Reasons to be

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be imparted to her Majesty only; which as he had discovered unto some of the Lords of the Council by her Highness's Appointment, and that partly to the Satisfaction of her Majesty, so her Highness did think, that upon his humble Submission unto this House, with a dutiful Acknowledgement of his Fault, this House would the rather dispense with him therein.'

'Which done, Doctor *Parry* was called to the Bar, where humbly acknowledging his Fault upon his Knees, it was told him by Mr. Speaker, after he had put him in Remembrance of the Manner of his Offence, that it might be the House would nevertheless deal favourably with him, if they should see such Cause upon his unfeigned and earnest Confession and Repentance of his Fault, and his humble Submission unto the House, with good and dutiful Endeavour of Amendment hereafter. And then kneeling upon his Knee in very humble Manner, affirmed directly, that he had very undutifully misbehaved himself, and had rashly and unadvisedly uttered those Speeches he used, and was with all his Heart very sorry for it; alledging withal, that he had never been of this House before this Session, and so could not so well know the Orders of the House as he should do; and that he would not willingly offend this House, nor any Man in it; and so humbly prayed their good Favour towards him.'

'Whereupon being sequestred again out of the House, it was after some Arguments and Speeches had, resolved, That upon that his said Acknowledgement of his Fault, and his humble Submission, he should be received into this House again as a Member of the same, and take his Place as before, so that he would afterwards use himself in good Sort as he ought to do. And thereupon being called again to the Bar, and there kneeling upon his Knee, and directly reiterating his former Confession of his Fault, and also, his former humble Submission; protesting further, that if ever after he should give any just Cause of Offence again to
this

this House, or any Member thereof, he would then never after crave any more Favour of them.' Queen Elizabeth.
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'Whereupon Mr. Speaker declared the good Pleasure of this House in remitting his said Offence by receiving him again into them, with Condition and Hope of his better Behaviour hereafter. Which as he professed and promised to perform accordingly, so did he in very good dutiful Sort, give most humble Thanks unto God, and to her Majesty, and also unto this whole House, and to every Member of the same, for their good, courteous, and favourable Dealing towards him in this Behalf.'

But the Affair had a more tragical End after *Christmasts*, as hath been before related.

The 19th of *December*, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain declared unto the House, That her Majesty considering the great Pains and faithful Travels of that House in the Service of Affairs in the Realm, had determined to adjourn the Parliament to some other convenient Time after *Christmasts*; that such Gentlemen and other Members of this House might the more conveniently repair to their own Home, in the mean Time, for their better Ease and Recreation. On which it was resolved that the most humble and dutiful Thanks of this House, be returned to her Majesty, for this her most gracious Consideration, and for her grateful Acceptation of their dutiful Care for Providing for the Security of her Royal Person.

The Parliament
adjourned.

'To this Address of Thanks Mr. Vice-Chamberlain returned the following Answer; in which he did very eloquently and very earnestly set forth her Majesty's most princely, gracious and kind Acceptation of the humble and most dutiful Thankfulness of this House, so presented unto her Highness, to her right great and high Satisfaction, Joy and Comfort; and declared withal, that her Highness did for the same give most hearty and loving Thanks unto this whole House, yea, and that in Redoubling to them their Thanks ten Thousand Thousand-fold; and so further, very excellently, amply, and aptly, shewed both the ready, careful,
and

The Queen's
Answer to an
Address of
Thanks from
the House.

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and obedient Affections of this whole House to the dutiful Service of her Majesty, and also on the other Side, her Highness's incomparable Princely Account and Regard of all such loyal, loving, and faithful Subjects; and concluded, that her Majesty's Pleasure was, that this House should well know, that in the Consideration of the free Course of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* amongst us, our long continued Peace, and Plenty of God's good Blessings and Benefits bestowed upon us under the Ministry of her Highness, her Majesty doth most sincerely ascribe all the same, only and wholly, to the great Goodness and Mercy of Almighty God; attributing the Cause of these good Effects (next under God's Providence) to the good Demerits of so religious, godly, and obedient Subjects, of whom how well and kindly her Majesty doth think and conceive, her Highness had much rather have told them in her own most Royal Person, than have signified it unto them by any other, if it might have conveniently been so done, as upon the Opportunity of a Prorogation or Dissolution of this Court. And further declared, that her Majesty, having Regard to the great Charges and Expences of their Attendance in the Service of this great Council of the Realm, wisheth them at their next Meeting again, to bestow the Time as much as may be, in publick and general Actions, fittest for the Common-Weal of this Realm, and that with as little Loss of Time as may be. And withal, that those of this House towards the Law, would join together to do their best Endeavours to devise some good Laws to abridge and cut off the long and tedious Courses, and extreme chargeable Circuits, and superfluous Delays of Suits in Law; not doubting but that in so doing God will bless their Wealth and good Estates, both in themselves and in their Posterity. And so having, as he thought, dutifully imparted unto them the Sum and Substance of her Majesty's Pleasure, and Message committed unto this House by him, though not in such effectual and singular kind Terms and Forms as her Princely

Princely Wisdom delivered the same unto him; and so referring himself to the Residue of this House of her Majesty's Council, then and now present, to be put in Remembrance by them, if he have omitted any Part thereof, and they affirming he had not, he ended his Speech.

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But, to shew the Taste of these Times, and the Piety of the Courtiers of those Days still the more; on the 21st of *December*, when the Parliament was adjourned from that Day to the 4th of *February* following, 'The said Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, stood up again, and putting the House in Mind of her Majesty's most Princely and loving Kindnesses, signified unto this House, in the former Messages and Declarations of her Highness's thankful Acceptations of the dutiful Cares and Travels of this House in the Service of her Majesty and the Realm, moved the House, 'That besides the Rendering of our most humble and loyal Thanks unto her Highness, we do, being assembled altogether, join our Hearts and Minds together in most humble and earnest Prayer unto Almighty God, for the long Continuance of the most prosperous Preservation of her Majesty, with most due and thankful Acknowledgment of his infinite Benefits and Blessings, poured upon this whole Realm, through the Mediation of her Highness's Ministry under him. And he said, he had a Paper in Writing in his Hand, devised and set down by an honest, godly, and learned Man, and which, albeit it was not very well written, yet he would willingly read it as well as he could, if it pleased them to follow and say after him, as he should begin and say before them. Which being assented unto most willingly of all the whole House, and every one kneeling upon his Knees, the said Mr. Vice-Chamberlain begun the said Prayer. Which being ended, every one departed away for that Time, until the said Day of Adjournment.'

Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's Prayer
in the House on
that Occasion.

At which Time this Parliament being met again, we find nothing in their Proceedings, to our Purpose; the first Days of their Sitting being taken up with a long Dispute between the two Houses about
the

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the Form of passing a Bill to prevent fraudulent Conveyances; and another, for the better Observance of the Sabbath-Day. And, it was not till *Feb. 23d*, that the House of Commons took into Consideration the State of the Nation. The Dangers which were imminent over the Kingdom, and the Means to prevent them; the great Expences her Majesty had been at, &c. In which these following Particulars are observed.

The Commons
take into Con-
sideration the
State of the
Nation.

‘ The open Dangers threatned to this Kingdom, are from *Spain*, the *Pope* and the holy League in *France*; the secret from the *Jesuits*, that secretly lurked here to stir up her Majesty’s Subjects of the *Roman* Religion to all Manner of Treason and Rebellion: Both which Dangers though the Time of them were a while intermitted in respect of the Execution, yet the Purpose was not; which their late Conspiracies and Attempts both here and in *Ireland* did plainly shew.’

‘ The Means to prevent these Dangers were to suppress the Spreading of *Jesuits* and the Growing of *Popery*; to exact such Oaths of the *Papists* as had been already ordained; to provide for the Preservation of her Majesty’s Person; to terrify *Ireland*, and to provide sufficient Forces at Home both by Land and Sea.’

‘ The great Expence that her Majesty had been at, even since the last Parliament, did appear plainly in respect of divers Places and Forts which had been repaired, much Powder and Munition had been stored up, and her Navy also since that Time increased: Besides many other extraordinary Charges and Expences which she had been at, in the Assisting of her Allies, and the Preserving of *Ireland*; and that her Majesty did specially shun Danger from *Ireland*, of which they conceived this Proverb to be true, *Look to Ireland if we will rest quiet in England*. And therefore some Members, of the Privy-Council, did move to think of what Supply were now fit to be given to her Majesty towards the Supporting and Sustaining of all her said great Expences and Charges.’

On

On the next Day a Motion being made for a Supply to be granted to her Majesty, a large Committee of the Commons were appointed to meet and draw up a Bill for that Purpose; which was mentioned, before, in our Account of the Lords.

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But the old Topic of *Reformation* was again started in the Commons; and since they were prohibited from Addressing the Queen in that Matter, they thought proper to make their Application to the Bishops and Lords of the upper House, by Way of Petition (*b*).

‘Nothing of any Moment happen’d till the last Day of this Session, *March* the 29th, when the Queen came to the House of Lords, and the Commons attending; the Speaker after his humble Reverence made, and some Expressions of his Thankfulness to her Majesty, proceeded according to the usual Course, to desire her Majesty to give Life to such Laws, by adding her gracious Allowance unto them, as had passed either House, and remained as yet but as a dead Letter; and withal, gave her Majesty Knowledge of the free Gift of the House of Commons, of one *Subsidy* and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*.’

A Subsidy.

‘To which Speech of the said Prolocutor’s the Lord Chancellor, by her Majesty’s Commandment, answered, That she did graciously accept of the said Gift of her Commons, and was come thither to give her Royal Assent to divers of those Laws which had passed the two Houses.’

There is no Speech entered in the Journal of either House, made by the Speaker at this Time; nor does Sir *Symonds Dewes* supply it from any other Authority. We are obliged to Mr. *Strype* however, for bringing one to Light, from the Manuscript Collections in the *Burleigh* Family, belonging

(*b*) This Petition of the Commons, with the Answer on the Part of the Bishops, may be seen at large in *Dewes’s Journals*, Pag. 357 *et seq.* And for the Petitions and Remonstrances at large, from the Puritans themselves, to the Queen and Parliament, the Reader may consult *Strype’s Annals*, in the Appendix to his third Volume; such over-tedious Affairs being not consistent with the Design of this History.

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ing, originally, to the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*. Whence it may be strongly inferr'd, that Serjeant *Puckering* only lent his Voice to that great Statesman, and that the other directed his Tongue what to say on the Occasion. An Art in Politics which, no doubt, hath been practised many Times since those Days.

Most Excellent Prince and Gracious Queen,

The Speaker's
Speech to the
Queen at the
Close of the
Session.

‘ **T**HE last Time of my being in this Place
‘ before your most excellent Majesty, and
‘ this Honourable Assembly of your three Estates,
‘ I did make my most humble Submission and
‘ Request, upon the Knowledge of my Disability
‘ and Unworthiness, that I might have been for-
‘ born to have occupied in this Place. But such
‘ was your Majesty’s gracious Opinion, as it seem-
‘ ed, conceived of me upon the Election of your
‘ faithful and obedient Subjects, the whole Com-
‘ monalty of your Realm; that I was thereto
‘ directed. And as then I best knowing mine
‘ own Insufficiencies did, for my Excuse, desire
‘ your Majesty’s gracious Acceptation of that
‘ which was only in my Power; which was of
‘ my good Will, Diligence, and Endeavour to be
‘ bestowed in this Service: So now, if I should not
‘ acknowledge in this Place, (having here in my
‘ Company so many Witnesses against me) the
‘ Multitude of Imperfections, that I have found
‘ in myself, during the Time of this my Service,
‘ I should shew myself to be over partial to mine
‘ own Cause, and, in some sort, to be void of
‘ Modesty. But knowing your Majesty’s accus-
‘ tomed Goodness, to accept the good Wills and
‘ Endeavours of all Men in your Services, without
‘ any strait Regard or Account of the Events or
‘ Successes of their Actions; and therewith having
‘ also had, at this Time of Session of Parliament,
‘ daily Proofs of the favourable Toleration of my
‘ Lacks, by grave, wise, and experimented Per-
‘ sons and the good Will generally of the whole
‘ Body of your *Commons* towards me, in their
‘ quiet

' quiet Allowance of my Service; I am the bolder, Queen Elizabeth,
1585.
 ' throwing behind my Back these my Lacks
 ' and Wants, as Things not now to be imputed
 ' to me; and am to present myself in your Ma-
 ' jesty's Sight according to my Office, as a Person
 ' allow'd by your Majesty's Goodness only, and
 ' not by my Deserts; and so to proceed to present
 ' to your Majesty, in the Name of all your *Com-*
 ' *mons*, First, our most humble Thanks for the
 ' Benefits that we have received by your Majesty's
 ' Permission, to have this Assembly so long con-
 ' tinued: Secondly, our like humble Requests for
 ' Pardon of any Thing, which through Ignorance,
 ' without any Intention of Offence, in our Con-
 ' sultations might be, by your Majesty's great
 ' Wisdom, imputed to us. And lastly, I am also,
 ' in their Names, to exhibit our most humble and
 ' earnest Petitions to your Majesty, to give Life
 ' to the Works not of our Hands, but of our
 ' Minds, Cogitations and Hearts: Which other-
 ' wise than being lightened by the Beams of your
 ' Favour, shall be but vain, dumb and dead.

' For the first I do confess, that in the
 ' Name of all your *Commons* here assembled,
 ' and so I may presume to add the like for
 ' the Lords here assembled in your Majesty's Pre-
 ' sence, we cannot imagine, how your Ma-
 ' jesty can bestow a greater Benefit, that can de-
 ' serve more Thanks of your Subjects universally,
 ' than that your Majesty, as you have heretofore
 ' at many Times, so now especially in this Time,
 ' when our Necessity, for many Respects required
 ' the same, summoned your whole Realm, by
 ' calling your Estates together to this Parliament,
 ' to consult freely, and at great Leisure, what
 ' were first meet for the Furtherance and Advance-
 ' ment of God's Service, by which we only have
 ' our Being; and what were also necessary for
 ' the Preservation of your Majesty's Person, by
 ' whose long Life and Continuance we are kept
 ' free from the Tyranny and Subjection of Foreign

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‘ Oppression. And lastly, to devise among our-
 ‘ selves, and provide not only as should be, both
 ‘ in general and particular, good and profitable
 ‘ for our own Estates, but also to foresee how to
 ‘ avoid Things hurtful to the same; to which
 ‘ good End we do acknowledge that, by your
 ‘ Majesty’s Goodness and Permission, our Assembly
 ‘ now hath tended. And for that Good which
 ‘ we are to receive thereby, we do yield to your
 ‘ Majesty our most humble Thanks; beseeching
 ‘ God to grant to your Majesty many happy
 ‘ Years, above the Term of our Lives. That as
 ‘ we have already, so after us our Posterity may
 ‘ receive the like Benefits of your Goodness from
 ‘ Time to Time, as Cause shall require; to pro-
 ‘ cure to themselves by good Laws under your
 ‘ Government like Means to live in such Peace,
 ‘ Happiness and Wealth, as we have done, from
 ‘ the Beginning of your Reign: And as our Fore-
 ‘ fathers never did the like with such Continuance.
 ‘ Secondly, After these our Thanks, most
 ‘ humbly presented upon our Knees, we do both
 ‘ in general and particular, humbly beseech your
 ‘ Majesty to give your accustomed gracious Inter-
 ‘ pretations to all our Proceedings. Wherein if
 ‘ any Speeches, Motions, or Petitions have past
 ‘ from us, that might have miscontented your
 ‘ Majesty in your great Wisdom above our Capa-
 ‘ cities; I can assure your Majesty, that in this As-
 ‘ sembly, wherein I was always present, there
 ‘ was never found in any Speech, private or pub-
 ‘ lick, any Argument or Token of the Mind of
 ‘ any Person that shewed any Intention to be offen-
 ‘ sive to your Majesty. And for Proof hereof,
 ‘ when it pleased your Majesty to direct me to
 ‘ declare your Pleasure to the Commons House,
 ‘ in what Sort you would they should stay
 ‘ any further Debating of the Manner of Re-
 ‘ formation of such Things as they thought
 ‘ might be reformed in the Church, I found them
 ‘ all, generally and particularly, ready to obey
 ‘ your Majesty’s Pleasure therein: Which as it
 ‘ seemed

seemed to me, and so I have Cause to persuade
with myself, they did. For that it was well
understood, that your Majesty, as having by
God's Ordinance a Supreme Authority for that
Purpose, had straitly charged the Archbishops,
Bishops, and your whole Clergy now assembled
in their Convocation, to have due Regard to see
to the Reformation of divers Abuses in the Go-
vernment and Discipline of the Church. And
so our firm Hope is, that your Majesty will, by
your strait Commandment to your Clergy, con-
tinue your Care to see, and command, that such
Abuses as are crept into the Church by the Neg-
ligence of the Ministers, may be speedily reform-
ed, to the Honour of Almighty God, and to
your own immortal Praise, and Comfort of
your Subjects.

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The next Matter whereof I have to speak, is
most humbly to request your Majesty to yield
your Royal Assent to such *Petitions*, both general
and particular, as have been upon long Delibera-
tion determined and conceived in Writing, with
uniform Consent of the Lords Spiritual and
Temporal, and us your *Commons*, in this your
Parliament assembled. Wherein your Majesty
shall do no less than pertaineth to the Authority
which you have like to God Almighty: Who
as he giveth Life and Being to all his Creatures,
great and small, so your Majesty shall give Life
and Continuance to the Fruits of our Consulta-
tions, as well to the small as to the great.
Without which your Royal Assent with your
own Breath, the same shall become without Life
and Sense, and all our Labours therein lost,
and our Expectations therein made frustrate.
And tho' in your Majesty's princely Sight many
of those our *Petitions* may seem to be of mean
Value, either because they be, some of them,
particular; or because the Matters of some of
them may seem to be of low and base Degree:
Yet considering of them to whom they belong,
the same are of as great Importance and Benefit,

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as to greater Estates greater Matters are: And
the Lack of the Benefits which to them may
grow thereby, shall be as grievous, as the Lack
of greater in greater Bodies: And as in every
natural Body, the meanest Parts and Members
are by the Head regarded as beneficial, for one
Means or other, to the rest of the whole Body:
So we with all Humbleness, in the Name of the
whole Body, do beseech your Majesty, as our
only Head, and Fountain of our Life, to accept
the meanest Petitions for the Comforts of the
Parts of the Body, to whom the same may be-
long: As we know your Majesty, of your Cle-
mency, is accustomed with your most gracious
Eyes and Countenance, to comfort daily your
basest and poorest Subjects, seeking Relief at
your Feet.

Next to this we do offer to your Majesty with
our whole Hearts, our Bodies and Lives, to be
serviceable to the Safety of your Majesty's noble
Person. For Defence whereof, and for Revenge
of any Act imagine against your Majesty, we
have by a Form of Law, if it shall like your
Majesty to assent thereto, given a Testimony to
the whole World, how dear the Safety of your
Life is to us. And this I do assure your Majesty,
that we, your most loving Subjects, were most
willing to have extended this Ordinance to a far
straiter Course, as we thought the same meet
for your Safety, and for terrifying of all Persons
not well-willing to you; if otherwise we had
not understood, that your Majesty's Pleasure
was, that it should not be extended to any straiter
Points than it is.

And as your Majesty hath a manifest Demon-
stration hereby of our Hearts and Minds, so also
we have added (for a further outward Declara-
tion thereof by our Deeds, offered to your Ma-
jesty of our voluntary Minds) a small Portion
out of those Wordly Goods which God hath
given us, and by the long Peace under your
blessed Government we have encreased; by
Way

‘ Way of a Subsidy, and two Fifteenths, to be used Queen Elizabeth.
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‘ by your Majesty, as in former Times you have
‘ always done, for the Defence of this your Realm,
‘ and us your humble Subjects. Which tho’ we
‘ know shall not amount to the Value that percase
‘ shall be needful for the Defence of your Realms,
‘ Dominions and Subjects, against all Attempts
‘ that may be ministred by the Enemies of God,
‘ and of your Majesty ; yet your Majesty may
‘ make an assured Account, that besides this our
‘ Offer, you cannot lack a further Supply of the
‘ rest that we have, to be spent, or committed to
‘ your Direction, as Cause shall require.

‘ Lastly, Upon our Knees we do most humbly
‘ yield our hearty Thanks for your most gracious
‘ and free general Pardon : Whereby a great Mul-
‘ titude of your Subjects are to be relieved of divers
‘ Pains and Penalties ; which by the Order of
‘ your Laws your Majesty might most justly have
‘ inflicted upon them. By which your Clemency
‘ we all shall take Occasion, besides our Thankful-
‘ ness for so great a Benefit, to endeavour our-
‘ selves more carefully to observe your Laws,
‘ both to the Honour of God, and to the Comfort
‘ of your Majesty ; and, finally to the Mainte-
‘ nance of Peace, Tranquility and Concord among
‘ ourselves.’

The Royal Assent being given to thirty Public Acts and thirteen Private, her Majesty, in Person, made the following Speech to both Houses of Parliament (c).

My Lords and ye of the Lower House,

M*R Silence must not injure the Owner so much, as to suppose a Substitute sufficient to render you the Thanks that my Heart yieldeth you, not so much for the safe Keeping of my Life, for which your Care appears so manifest, as for the Neglecting your private future Peril, not regarding other way than my present State.* The Queen's
Speech at pro-
roguing the Par-
liament.

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(c) Camden in Appendix, Pag. 670. Stowe's Chron. Pag. 701. De Witts, 328. Hollingshead, Pag. 1396, &c.

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No Prince herein, I confesse, can be surer tied or faster bound than I am with the Link of your Good-Will, and can for that but yield a Heart and a Head to seek for ever all your best; yet one Matter toucheth me so near, as I may not overskip, Religion, the Ground on which all other Matters ought to take Root, and being corrupted, may marr all the Tree. And that there be some Fault-finders with the Order of the Clergy, which so may make a Slander to myself and the Church, whose over-Ruler God hath made me; whose Negligence cannot be excused, if any Schisms or Errors heretical were suffered. Thus much I must say, that some Faults and Negligences may grow and be, as in all other great Charges it happeneth, and what Vocation without? All which if you my Lords of the Clergy do not amend, I mean to depose you. Look ye therefore well to your Charges. This may be amended without heedless or open Exclamations. I am supposed to have many Studies, but most Philosophical. I must yield this to be true, that I suppose few (that be no Professors) have read more. And I need not tell you, that I am so simple that I understand not, nor so forgetful that I remember not; and yet amidst my many Volumes, I hope God's Book hath not been my seldomest Lectures, in which we find that which by Reason (for my Part) we ought to believe; that seeing so great Wickedness and Greeves in the World in which we live, but as Way-faring Pilgrims, we must suppose that God would never have made us but for a better Place, and of more Comfort than we find here. I know no Creature that breatheth, whose Life standeth hourly in more Peril for it than mine own, who entred not into my State without Sight of manifold Dangers of Life and Crown, as one that had the mightiest and greatest to wrestle with. Then it followeth that I regarded it so much, as I left my Life behind my Care; and so you see that you wrong me too much (if any such there be) as doubt my Colaness in that Bealf; for if I were not persuaded that mine were the true Way of God's Will, God forbid that I should live to prescribe
it

it to you. Take you heed lest Ecclesiastes say not too true, They that fear the hoary Frost, the Snow shall fall upon them. I see many over-bold with God Almighty, making too many subtle Scannings of his blessed Will, as Lawyers do with human Testaments. The Presumption is so great, as I may not suffer it (yet mind I not hereby to animate Romanists, which what Adversaries they be to mine Estate, is sufficiently known) nor tolerate New-fangledness. I mean to guide them both by God's holy true Rule. In both Parts be Perils; and of the latter I must pronounce them dangerous to a Kingly Rule, to have every Man according to his own Censure to make a Doom of the Validity and Privity of his Prince's Government, with a common Veil and Cover of God's Word, whose Followers must not be judged but by private Men's Exposition. God defend you from such a Ruler that so evil will guide you. Now I conclude that your Love and Care neither is nor shall be bestowed upon a careless Prince, but such as but for your Good-Will passeth as little for this World as who careth least, with Thanks for your free Subsidy, a manifest Shew of the Abundance of your Good Wills, the which I assure you but to be employed to your Weal, I could be better pleased to return than receive.

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After this Speech was ended, her Majesty, in Person, prorogued this Parliament to the 20th Day of May next ensuing.

We have now another shorter String of Prorogations before us, which continued till this Parliament was dissolved. From the last mentioned Date, it was again prorogued, at six different Times, without any intervening Session, to the 14th of September.

Accordingly on that Day, the Parliament being met, it is entered in the Journals of the Lords, that whereas this present Parliament stood prorogued to the said 14th of September, yet the Queen by the Advice of her Privy-Council, many great and urgent

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gent Causes occasioning it (d), had given her Letters Patents, directed to Sir *Thomas Bromley* Kt. Chancellor of *England*, and others her Commissioners to dissolve this Parliament. Which Letters

The Parliament
dissolved.

Patent being read in the House, the Lord Chancellor declared it to be dissolved accordingly.

The Reader may observe that, in the Proceedings of the last Session of Parliament, an *Association* is mentioned to be confirmed by an Act passed for that Purpose. This Invention of *Associating* is, by *Cambden*, appropriated to the Politics of *Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*. Rumours, says he, were spread every where, of great Dangers, wicked Designs and treacherous Practices against the Queen and State. By which, the politic Earl drew in Men of all Degrees and Conditions, throughout *England*, to bind themselves, in an *Association*, by mutual Vows, Subscriptions and Seals, to prosecute to Death, as far as lay in their Power, all those that should attempt any Thing against the Queen (e).

The unhappy Queen of *Scots*, adds our Authority, easily saw that her Destruction was, chiefly, aimed at by this *Association*. To prevent the fatal Effects of it, she made her last Proposals to the

The Proceedings
against the Queen
of Scots revived.

English Queen, for an Accommodation between them. These Articles were so condescending and modest, that *Elizabeth* is said to be so far moved by them, that it was really believed she purposed to set her at Liberty. But, crafty Counsellors at Home, who were perpetually laying new Fears before her, and the factious *Scots*, with their Representations, prevented it. These last, urged strongly, 'That there was no Hopes of Queen *Elizabeth's* Safety; if their Queen was set at Liberty. That both Kingdoms were undone if she was admitted to be Partner with her Son in the Kingdom. That the true Religion in *Britain* was ruined, if she was to be allowed the Exercise of the *Romish* Religion, though it was but within the Court-Walls.'

These

(d) *Maximis gravissimisque Causis intervenientibus, et Negotiis ita flagrantibus, &c.* DIAR. PROCER.

(e) *Cambden in Kennet. Pag 499.*

These Remonstrances from the Queen of Scots Queen Elizabeth. 1586. own Subjects, chiefly, fomented by a Set of hot-headed enthusiastical Preachers amongst them, gave the *English* Government a somewhat better Pretext to keep her imprisoned. In which Condition she continued to the Year, 1586, when a bold Conspiracy was set on Foot to deliver her; the Original and Progress of which we shall leave to *Cambden* and our larger Historians: It is, only, necessary here to observe, that this Conspiracy proved fatal to the poor Queen, and drew in an *English* Parliament to vote her Destruction. She was tried by a Committee of Lords, and others, sent down to *Fotheringhay* Castle for that Purpose; and though she made a noble and a bold Defence, offering to refer her Cause to a full *English* Parliament, she was found guilty and received Sentence accordingly. She is tried by a Committee of Lords, &c and receives Sentence of Death. The Substance of which Trial will appear in the Proceedings of the next Parliament. But it is necessary to take Notice, here, that a Declaration was published, the same Day the Sentence was given, by the Commissioners and the Judges, *That the said Sentence did nothing derogate from James King of Scots, in his Title and Honour; but that he was in the same Place, Degree and Right, as if the said Sentence had never been pronounced.*

Writs were sent out to call a new Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, the 15th Day of *October*, in the 28th Year of this Reign. Anno Regni 28, 1586. At Westminster. From that Day, for divers good Causes and Considerations, the Parliament was prorogued to the 27th, and from thence to the 29th of the same Month (*f*). On which Day the whole Body of Lords and Commons being assembled, in the House of Peers, expecting the Coming of the Queen, the Lord Chancellor informed them, that great and urgent Business prevented her Majesty from being present; The Parliament opened by Commission. but that she had by her Letters Patents, constituted and appointed the Most Reverend Father in *Christ*,

(*f*) Sentence was, only, given against the Queen of Scots, on the 25th of this Month, so that these short Prorogations were made till that Tryal was over.

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Christ, John Archbishop of *Canterbury*; *William Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*, Lord High-Treasurer of *England*; and *Henry*, Earl of *Derby*, Lord High-Steward, her Majesty's Commissioners; in her Name, to hold and do every Thing that was necessary for her in this present Parliament. Which Letters Patents being, openly, read in the House, the said three Lord Commissioners left their own Seats and went to a Seat prepared for them, on the Right-side of the Chair of State, beneath the Steps. Then the Lord Chancellor, after going first to the said Lords and conferring with them, from his accustomed Place spoke to the Houses to this Effect.

The Lord Chancellor's Speech.

‘ That the present Parliament was summoned, for no usual Causes; not for making of new Laws, whereof her Majesty thought there were more made than executed; nor for *Subsidies* and *Fifteenths*, of which, although there was some Occasion for them, yet her Majesty would not charge her loving Subjects, at this Time; but the Cause was rare and extraordinary; of great Weight, great Peril, and dangerous Consequence. He then declared what Dangers had been contrived of late, and how miraculously the merciful Providence of God, by the Discovery thereof beyond all Human Policy, had preserved her Majesty. The Destruction of whose Sacred Person was most traitorously imagined and designed to be compassed.’

He then shewed, ‘ what Misery the Loss of so noble a Queen would have brought to all Estates; that although some of these Traitors had suffered according to their Demerits, yet one remained, that by due Course of Law had received her Sentence; which was the chief Cause of this Assembly, and wherein her Majesty required their faithful Advice. Wherefore, said he, that you may usually and orderly proceed herein, you of the Commons House, are to make present Choice of some one amongst you to be your Speaker, and present to the Lords-Lieutenants as soon as conveniently you may.’ After which the Clerk of

Par-

Parliament read the Names of those who were appointed to receive and try the Petitions offered to this Parliament ; and then the Lords-Lieutenants adjourned it to *Monday* next.

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It is easy to guess the Reason that the Queen came not to the House was an affected Tenderness in her, to sit in Judgment, as it were, on the Life of so near a Relation. Although *Cambden* observes, that appointing Commissioners to act in her Name was not without Precedent.

On *Monday*, the last Day of *October*, the Commons presented to the Lords-Lieutenants *John Puckering*, Esq; Serjeant at Law, as their Speaker ; who, with the usual Forms, was admitted by them, which was all that was done that Day ; and then the House was adjourned to *Friday, November* the 4th. On which Day also, nothing is entered in the *Journals*.

John Puckering,
Esq; elected
Speaker.

But, the next Day the Business began. The Lord Chancellor made another Speech to the Lords, in which he set forth the foul and indiscreet Dealings, practised by the Queen of *Scots*, against her Majesty and the whole Realm ; notwithstanding the many great Benefits and Favours which the said Queen of *Scots* had received of her Majesty. After the Chancellor had ended, *William Lord Burleigh*, Lord Treasurer, stood up ; and, as one unto whom the whole Proceedings of the said Queen of *Scots* were better known, because of his long Services to his Most Gracious Sovereign Lady, ever since the Beginning of her Reign, related them, at large to the House. Which two Speeches made the whole Business of that Day.

To make the Proceedings of this Parliament, against this unhappy Queen, more intelligible to our Readers, we shall join those of the Lords and Commons together. And, we are told, in the *Journals* of the latter, that, on *November* the 3d, whilst a private Bill was reading, and one Member offering to speak to it, Mr Vice-Chamberlain, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, stood up and told the House, ' That having Matter of most great Im-
portance

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Sir Christopher
Hatton opens the
Charge against the
Queen of Scots.

portance to deliver unto this House, from her Majesty, he was so bold, with their good Favours, for this Time to interrupt the Speech intended by the Gentlemen that offered to speak to the said Bill. — And then shewed, that her Majesty thinking that all those of this House, which were lately in the Higher House when the Lord Chancellor declared the Cause of her Highness's summoning of this Parliament, could not hear the same; and also that many of the Members of this House now here present, were not then come up or returned; commanded him to deliver unto this House the Summary Cause of her Majesty's Calling and Assembling of this great Council at this Time; which was (he said) not to make any more Laws, as being many more already than well executed; nor yet any *Subsidy*, albeit, if need so required, the same were convenient enough to be done; but (said he) to consult for such Matters as the like were never almost heard of, nor any Parliament called for, in former Time, that can be found or read of. And so very excellently, plainly, and effectually, made Relation of the horrible and wicked Practices and Attempts, caused and procured by the Queen of Scots, so called; meerly tending to the Ruin and Overthrow of the true and sincere Religion established in this Realm; the Invasion of this Realm by Foreign Forces; Rebellion and Civil Wars, and Dissentions within this Realm. Yea, and withal (which his Heart quaked and trembled to utter and think on) the Death and Destruction of the Most Sacred Person of our Most Gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty; to the utter Desolation and Conquest of this Most Noble Realm of *England*. And so discourfing of the Matter, and the great, execrable Treacheries and Conspiracies of the said Queen of Scots, even from the first to the last, in Particularities very amply and effectually (such of them, at the least, as have been hitherto discovered) shewing also, very manifestly and evidently, the Proofs and all other Circumstances of the same Treachery and Conspiracies;
and

and so thinketh good, for his Part, that speedy Queen Elizabeth.
 Consultation be had by this House for the Cutting 1586.
 of her off by Course of Justice ; for that otherwise
 our said Sovereign Lady, the Queen's Majesty's
 Most Royal Person, cannot be continued with Safe-
 ty ; concluding with this Sentence,

' *Ne pereat Israel, pereat Absolon.*'

This Speech was seconded by the Chancellor
 of the Exchequer, the Chancellor of the Duchy,
 and Mr Secretary *Wooly* ; who all spoke, at large,
 to the same Point ; reciting the horrible Treasons
 and Conspiracies, caused and procured by the said
 Queen of *Scots*. Which Speeches being ended, the
 House resolved to resume the Affair on the Mor-
 row.

Proceedings
 thereupon.

Accordingly, on the next Day, the House being
 reminded, by the Speaker, of going upon the *Great*
Cause, as they termed it, several more Speeches
 were made by other Ministers of State ; as, also,
 by Sir *William Herbert*, Sir *Thomas Scott*, Mr *Francis*
Bacon, Mr *Alford*, Mr *Throgmorton*, Mr *Bar-*
ker, Mr *Dalton*, Mr *Baynbrigg*, and Mr Solicitor ;
 all vehement against the Queen of *Scots*, charging
 her with treasonable Practices against the Life of
 the Queen, and procuring a Foreign Invasion to
 further those Attempts. Concluding, that such
 Practices could never be prevented hereafter, unless
 the said *Scottish* Queen did presently suffer the Ex-
 ecution due to Justice and her Deserts.

It was then moved that a Committee should be
 appointed to consider of a Petition to her Majesty,
 to that Purpose, and, also, to request the Lords, if
 they thought good, to join with them in it. Ac-
 cordingly, a Committee was appointed of all the
 Privy-Council belonging to that House, and forty-
 four other Members. There is an Entry made
 in this *Journal* of the Conclusion of a Speech, said
 to be spoke by one Mr *George Moore*, who averred,
 ' That only *Popery* is the chief and principal Root
 ' of all the late horrible and wicked Treacheries
 ' and Practices, and the Queen of *Scots* a principal
 Branch,

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‘ Branch, issuing from the same Root, and the
‘ most perillous and full of Poison of all the other
‘ Branches; for that the *Papists*, in very deed, for
‘ the most Part, not knowing the Person of the
‘ said Queen of *Scots*, do wish the Establishing of
‘ her in the Crown of this Realm, rather in re-
‘ spect of *Papery*, (which she would set up) than
‘ for any Affection they bear to her Person; and
‘ so likewise, for the most Part, all of them either
‘ wish or could easily bear the Death of our Sove-
‘ reign Lady the Queen’s Majesty, though, per-
‘ haps, they would not shew themselves to be Ac-
‘ tors or Dealers therein.’ He therefore moveth,
‘ That it may be joined in the Petition for the
‘ *Great Cause*; That her Majesty may be moved
‘ to retain no Servants about her Highness’s Person,
‘ but such only as may be well known both to pro-
‘ fess the true and sincere Religion, and also to be
‘ every Way true and faithful Subjects.’ And
‘ further ‘ That the Laws already in Force against
‘ *Papists* may be put in due Execution’.

‘ These Speeches being ended, Mr Speaker shewed,
‘ that the said Motion, or any other, tending to
‘ the Safety of her Majesty’s Person, may be very
‘ well delivered and remembred to the Committees
‘ in the *Great Cause*, by any Member of the House.’

A Conference
between both
Houses.

November the 7th. Whilst the Lords were de-
bating the Matter of the Queen of *Scots*, the Com-
mons came up, and desired a Conference with some
of their Lordships, what Number they should
please to appoint, about the Affair of the *Scottish*
Queen, which had been opened to them. Where-
upon, the Lords appointed the Archbishops of *Can-*
terbury and *York*, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord
Steward; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Rut-*
land, and *Suffex*; the Bishops of *London*, *Durham*,
Winchester, and *Worcester*; the Lord-Admiral,
the Lord-Chamberlain; the Lords *Cobham*, *Grey*,
Lumley, *Chandois*, *Buckhurst*, *De la Ware*, and
Norris, for the Conference. The Place of Meet-
ing was the outward Parliament-Chamber, at Two
in the Afternoon. There was, also, appointed to
attend

attend the said Lords, the Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, the Chief-Baron, and Mr Justice Gaudie. Queen Elizabeth.
1586.

The next Day nothing was done in that House ; but the Day following, *Nov.* 9th, several Letters were read, as well from *Anthony Babington* to the Queen of *Scots*, as from her to him, *Charles Pagett*, and others. The Sentence pronounced by the Commissioners, against the *Scots* Queen, was also read. And a Form of a Petition agreed upon by the Committees of both Houses.

November 10th. This Day the Lords of the Committee made Report to the whole House, That those of the Commons, upon hearing of the Sentence, and divers of the Special Evidences and Proofs, on which the Sentence was grounded, openly read unto them, after long Deliberation and Consideration had betwixt them, both publickly and privately, they all, with one Assent, allowed the said Sentence to be just, true, and honourable ; and that the Commons humbly desired their Lordships to make Choice of such Number of Lords as they should think meet to join with them in petitioning her Majesty. Whereupon, the Lords made Choice of the following, *viz.* the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord Steward ; the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Kent*, *Rutland*, *Sussex*, *Pembroke*, and *Hertford* ; the Lord High-Admiral and the Lords *Abergavenny*, *Zouch*, *Morley*, *Cobham*, *Grey*, *Lumley*, *Chandois*, *Buckhurst*, *De la Ware*, and *Norris*.

Memorandum. The Commons made a Request to have the Petition assented unto by both the Houses, to be enrolled in the Rolls of Parliament ; which their Lordships thought better to defer, until her Majesty's Liking or Disliking of it was first had of the same.

The same Day the House of Lords was adjourned to *November* 15th, to give Time, we suppose, for the Petition to be presented. From the last-mentioned Day, it was adjourned again to *Saturday*, the 19th, and from thence, once more, to the

Queen Elizabeth the 22d of the same Month, without any thing
1586. being entered in their *Journals*.

In this Time, the Petition was presented to the Queen by the said Committee of Lords, and the Members of the House of Commons, who were of the Privy-Council, with as many more of that Body as to make up the Number of forty-two. *Saturday*, the 12th of *November*, was the Day appointed by the Queen to receive it; when the Lord Chancellor, in the Name of the Lords, and on Behalf of the Commons, declared unto her Majesty, That both Houses, after many Conferences, and long Consultations, had concluded to be humble Suitors to her Majesty, by Way of Petition; the Effect whereof was declared, at length, unto her, by the Orators aforesaid, and the Petition, itself, delivered to her Majesty in Writing.

The *Journalist* hath given us, from an authentic Copy of his own, a *Series* of Notes, which, he says, were made Use of by the Speaker, in his Oration to the Queen, on this Occasion. Which, for fear of making this Matter too tedious, we purposely omit (g). In it the Orator displayed more of the Statesman and Lawyer, than of the Christian. But we hasten to the Words of the Petition itself; which, with the Answer to it, are both preserved by the Historian of this Reign; the latter being only summarily mentioned in the *Journals*.

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty, our Most Gracious Sovereign,

A joint Petition,
from the Lords
and Commons,
for the Execution
of Mary Queen
of Scots.

WE, your humble, loving, and faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, having of long Time, to our intolerable Grief, seen by how manifold, most dangerous, and execrable Practices, *Mary*, Daughter and Heir of *James V.* late King of *Scots*, Dowager of *France*, commonly cal-

(g) *D'Ewes's Journals*, p. 402.

' called the Queen of *Scots*, hath compassed the
 ' Destruction of your Majesty's Most Sacred and
 ' Royal Person; in whose Safety (next under God)
 ' our chief and only Felicity doth consist: And
 ' thereby not only to bereave us of the Sincere and
 ' True Religion of Almighty God, bringing us
 ' and this noble Crown back again into the Thral-
 ' dom of the *Romish* Tyranny; but also utterly
 ' to ruinate and overthrow the happy State and
 ' Commonwealth of this Most Noble Realm.
 ' Which being, from Time to Time, by the great
 ' Mercy and Providence of God, and your High-
 ' ness's singular Wisdom, foreseen and prevented;
 ' your Majesty, of your exceeding great Clemency,
 ' and princely Magnanimity, hath most graciously
 ' passed over, (although often and instantly moved
 ' by your most loving and faithful Subjects, to the
 ' contrary, in Times, in your Parliaments, and at
 ' many other Times) and hath also protected and
 ' defended the said *Scottish* Queen from those great
 ' Dangers, which her own People, for certain
 ' detestable Crimes and grievous Offences to her
 ' imputed, hath determined against her. All which
 ' notwithstanding, the said Queen was nothing
 ' moved with these and many other your Majesty's
 ' most gracious Favours toward her; but rather
 ' obdurate in Malice, and, by Hope of continual
 ' Impunity, imbolden'd to prosecute her cruel and
 ' mischievous Determination, by some speedy and
 ' violent Course; and now lately a very Dangerous
 ' Plot, being conceived and set down by *Anthony*
 ' *Babington* and others, That six desperate and
 ' wicked Persons should undertake that wicked
 ' and most horrible Enterprize, to take away
 ' your Majesty's Life, (whom God, of his infi-
 ' nite Mercy, long preserve) she did not only give
 ' her Advice and Direction upon every Point, and
 ' all Circumstances concerning the same; and make
 ' earnest Request to have it perform'd with all Di-
 ' ligence; but did also promise Assurance of large
 ' Reward and Recompence to the Doers thereof.

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‘ Which being inform’d to your Majesty, it pleas-
 ‘ ed your Highness, upon the earnest Suit of such
 ‘ as tendered the Safety of your Royal Person, and
 ‘ the good and quiet State of this Realm, to direct
 ‘ your Commission, under the Great Seal of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*, to the Lords and others of your Highness’s
 ‘ Privy-Council, and certain other Lords of Par-
 ‘ liament, of the greatest and most antient Degree,
 ‘ with some of your principal Judges, to examine,
 ‘ hear, and determine the same Cause; and there-
 ‘ upon to give Sentence or Judgment, according
 ‘ to a Statute in that Behalf made, in the twenty-
 ‘ seventh Year of your most gracious Reign.
 ‘ By virtue whereof, the more Part of the same
 ‘ Commissioners, being in Number thirty-six,
 ‘ having at sundry Times fully heard what was al-
 ‘ ledged and proved against the said *Scottish* Queen,
 ‘ in her own Presence, touching the said Crimes
 ‘ and Offences, and what she could say for her
 ‘ Defence and Excuse therein; did, after long
 ‘ Deliberation, give their Sentence and Judgment,
 ‘ with one Consent, That the Death and Destruc-
 ‘ tion of your Royal Person, was imagined and
 ‘ compassed by the said *Anthony Babington*, with
 ‘ the Privy of the said *Scottish* Queen; and that
 ‘ she did also compass and imagine the Death and
 ‘ Destruction of your Most Royal Person. Now,
 ‘ forasmuch as we, your Majesty’s most humble,
 ‘ loyal and dutiful Subjects, representing unto your
 ‘ Most Excellent Majesty, the universal State of
 ‘ your whole People of all Degrees in this your
 ‘ Realm, do well perceive, and are fully satisfied,
 ‘ that the same Sentence and Judgment is in all
 ‘ Things most honourable, just and lawful; and
 ‘ having carefully and effectually, according to our
 ‘ most bounden Duties, weighed and considered,
 ‘ upon what Ground and Cause, so many traiter-
 ‘ ous and dangerous Practices, against your Most
 ‘ Royal Person and Estate, and for the Invading of
 ‘ this Realm, have, for the Space of many Years
 ‘ past, grown and proceeded; do certainly find,
 ‘ and are undoubtedly persuaded, that all the same
 ‘ have

' have been, from Time to Time, attempted and
 ' practised by and from the *Scottish* Queen, and
 ' by her Confederates, Ministers, and Favourers;
 ' who conceive an assured Hope to atchieve speedily,
 ' by your Majesty's untimely Death, that which they have long expected, and whereof,
 ' during your Life, (which God long preserve, to our inestimable Comfort) they despair; to wit, to
 ' place her, the said *Scottish* Queen, in the Imperial and Kingly Seat of this Realm, and by her
 ' to banish and destroy the Professors and Professing of the True Religion of *Jesus Christ*, and the
 ' antient Nobility of this Land; and to bring this whole State and Commonweal to Foreign Subjection,
 ' and utter Ruin and Confusion; which their malicious and traitorous Purpose they will
 ' never cease to prosecute, by all possible Means they can, so long as they may have their Eyes and
 ' Imaginations fixed upon that Lady, the only Ground of their treasonable Hope and Conceits,
 ' and the ohly Seed-Plot of all dangerous and traitorous Devices and Practices, against your Sacred Person.
 ' And seeing also what insolent Boldness is grown in the Heart of the same Queen, through
 ' your Majesty's former exceeding Favours towards her; and thereupon weighing, with heavy and sorrowful Hearts, in what continual Peril
 ' in such-like desperate Conspiracies and Practices, your Majesty's Most Royal and Sacred Person and Life (more dear unto us than our own)
 ' is and shall be still, without any possible Means to prevent it, so long as the said *Scottish*
 ' Queen shall be suffered to continue, and shall not receive that due Punishment, which, by Justice
 ' and the Laws of this your Realm, she hath, so often, and so many Ways, for her most wicked
 ' and detestable Offences, deserved: Therefore, and for that we find, that if the said Lady shall
 ' now escape the due and deserved Punishment of Death for these her most execrable Treasons and
 ' Offences; your Highness's Royal Person shall be exposed unto many more, and those more

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‘ secret and dangerous Conspiracies, than before ;
 ‘ and such as shall not, or cannot, be foreseen or
 ‘ discovered, as these her late Attempts have been ;
 ‘ and shall not hereafter be so well able to take a-
 ‘ way the Ground and Occasion of the same, as
 ‘ now, by Justice, may and ought to be done.
 ‘ We do most humbly beseech your Most Excel-
 ‘ lent Majesty, that, as well in respect of the Con-
 ‘ tinuance of the True Religion now professed a-
 ‘ mongst us, and of the Safety of your Most Royal
 ‘ Person and Estate, as in regard of the Preservati-
 ‘ on and Defence of us your Most Loving, Dutiful,
 ‘ and Faithful Subjects, and the whole Common-
 ‘ Wealth of this Realm, it may please your High-
 ‘ ness to take speedy Order, That Declaration of
 ‘ the same Sentence and Judgment be made and
 ‘ publish’d by Proclamation, and that thereupon
 ‘ Direction be given for further Proceedings against
 ‘ the said *Scottish* Queen, according to the Effect
 ‘ and true Meaning of the said Statute : Because,
 ‘ upon advised and great Consultation, we cannot
 ‘ find that there is any possible Means to provide
 ‘ for your Majesty’s Safety, but by the just and
 ‘ speedy Execution of the said Queen, the Neglec-
 ‘ ting whereof may procure the heavy Displeasure
 ‘ and Punishment of Almighty God, as by sundry
 ‘ severe Examples of his great Justice in that Be-
 ‘ half, left us, in the Sacred Scriptures, doth appear.
 ‘ And if the same be not put in present Execution,
 ‘ we your Most Loving and Dutiful Subjects, shall
 ‘ thereby (so far as Man’s Reason can reach) be
 ‘ brought into utter Despair of the Continuance,
 ‘ amongst us, of the True Religion of Almighty
 ‘ God, and of your Majesty’s Life, and the Safety
 ‘ of all your faithful Subjects, and the good Estate
 ‘ of this Most Flourishing Commonwealth.’

After hearing the Petition read, the Queen with
 great Majesty, both of Countenance and Speech,
 says our Historian, answered to this Purpose :

SO many and so great are the unmeasurable Graces Queen Elizabeth.
 and Benefits bestowed upon me by the Almighty, 1586.
 that I must not only most humbly acknowledge 'em as
 Benefits, but admire 'em as Miracles; being in no sort The Queen's
 able to express 'em. And tho' none alive can more just- Answer.
 ly acknowledge himself bound to God than I, whose Life
 he has miraculously preserved from so many Dangers :
 Yet am I not more deeply bound to give him Thanks for
 any one Thing than for this which I will now tell you,
 and which I account as a Miracle ; namely, That as I
 came to the Crown with the hearty Good-Will of all
 my Subjects, so now, after twenty-eight Years Reign,
 I perceive in 'em the same, if not greater Affection to-
 wards me ; which should I once lose, I might, perhaps,
 find myself to breathe, but never could I think that I were
 alive. And now, tho' my Life has been dangerously shot
 at, yet, I protest, there is nothing has more griev'd me,
 than that one, who differs not from me in Sex, one of like
 Quality and Degree, one of the same Race and Stock, and
 so nearly related to me in Blood, should fall into so great
 a Misdemeanor. And so far have I been from bearing
 her any Ill-Will, that, upon the Discovery of some
 treasonable Practices against me, I wrote privately to
 her, that if she would confess and acknowledge them,
 by a Letter betwixt her and me, they should be wrapt
 up in Silence. Neither did I write this with a Pur-
 pose to intrap her ; for I knew already as much as she
 could confess. And even yet, tho' the Matter be come
 thus far, if she would truly repent, and no Man would
 undertake her Cause against me, and if my Life alone
 depended hereupon, and not the Safety and Welfare of
 all my People, I would (I protest unfeignedly) willing-
 ly and readily pardon her. Nay, if England might
 by my Death obtain a more flourishing Condition and
 a better Prince, I would most gladly lay down my Life.
 For, for your Sakes it is, and for my People's, that I
 desire to live. As for me, I see no such great Reason
 (according as I have led my Life) why I should either
 be fond to live, or fear to die. I have had good Expe-
 rience of this World ; I have known what it is to be a
 Subject, and I now know what it is to be a Sovereign.

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1586.

Good Neighbours I have had, and I have met with bad; and in Trust I have found Treason. I have bestow'd Benefits upon Ill-Deservers; and where I have done well, I have been ill requited and spoken of. While I call to Mind these Things past, behold Things present, and look forward toward Things to come, I count them happiest that go hence soonest. Nevertheless against such Evils and Mischiefs as these, I am arm'd with a better Courage than is common in my Sex; so as whatsoever befalls me, Death shall never find me unprepared.

And as touching these treasonable Attempts, I will not so far wrong myself, or the Laws of my Kingdom, as not to think but that she, having been the Contriver of the said Treasons, was bound and liable to the antient and former Laws, though the late Act had never been made; which notwithstanding was in no Sort made to prejudice her, as divers who are inclined to favour her have imagined. So far was it from being made to entrap her, that it was rather intended to forewarn and deter her from attempting any thing against it. But seeing it had now the Force of a Law, I thought good to proceed against her according to the same. But you Lawyers are so curious in Scanning the nice Points of the Law, and proceeding according to Forms, rather than Expounding and Interpreting the Laws themselves, that if your Way were observed, she must have been indicted in Staffordshire, and have holden up her Hand at the Bar, and have been try'd by a Jury of Twelve Men. A proper Way, forsooth, of Trying a Princess. To avoid therefore such Absurdities, I thought it better to refer the Examination of so weighty a Cause to a select Number of the noblest Personages of the Land, and the Judges of the Realm; and all little enough. For we Princes are set as it were upon Stages in the Sight and View of all the World: The least Spot is soon spy'd in our Garments, the smallest Blemish presently observ'd in us at a great Distance. It behoves us therefore to be careful that our Proceedings be just and honourable. But I must tell you one Thing, that by this last Act of Parliament, you have reduced me to such Straits and Perplexities, that

that I must resolve upon the Punishment of her who Queen Elizabeth.
1586.
is a Princess so nearly allied to me in Blood, and whose Practices against me have so deeply affected me with Grief and Sorrow, that I have willingly chosen to absent myself from this Parliament, lest I should increase my Trouble by hearing the Matter mention'd; and not out of Fear of any Danger or treacherous Attempt against me, as some think. But I will now tell you a farther Secret, (tho' it be not usual with me to blab forth in other Cases what I know.) It is not long since these Eyes of mine saw and read an Oath, wherein some bound themselves to kill me within a Month. Hereby I see your Danger in my Person, which I will be very careful to prevent and keep off.

The Association you enter'd into for my Safety I have not forgotten; a Thing I never so much as thought of, till a great Number of Hands and Seals to it were shew'd me. This has laid a perpetual Tie and Obligation upon me, to bear you a singular Good-Will and Love, who have no greater Comfort than in your and the Commonwealth's Respect and Affection towards me. But forasmuch as the Matter now in Hand is very rarely exempl'd, and of greatest Consequence, I hope you do not look for any present Resolution from me: For my Manner is, in Matters of less Moment than this, to deliberate long upon that which is but once to be resolved. In the mean Time, I beseech Almighty God, so to illuminate and direct my Heart, that I may see clearly what may be best for the Good of his Church, the Prosperity of the Commonwealth, and your Safety. And that Delay may not breed Danger, we will signify our Resolution to you with all Conveniency. And whatever the best of Subjects may expect at the Hands of the best Princes, that expect from me to be performed to the full.

It will be found by the Sequel, that our Historian, Livy like, has dress'd up the Queen's Answer in better Language than her Time will allow. But, this must pass at present; for it is not inserted at length in either Journal.—To proceed. The Lords met again

Queen Elizabeth.
1586.

again on the 15th of November, and thence adjourned to the 22d of the same Month.

In the Interim, *Cambden* tells us that the Queen had well weigh'd the Matter in her Mind, and, being distracted with Cares and Thoughts, as it were in some Conflict with herself, what to do in so important a Business, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the upper House, and *Puckering*, the Speaker, to the lower, to advise them to find out a more pleasing Expedient, whereby both the Queen of Scot's Life might be spared and her own Security provided for.

This is Mr. *Cambden's* Account of this second Message, which he says, was sent twelve Days after the Petition was delivered, by *Puckering* the Speaker: But herein our Historian will be found guilty of two Mistakes, by the Authority of the *Journals*. That of the Commons informs us, that on the 14th of November, two Days after the Petition was delivered, when the Speaker had reported to the House the Substance of the Queen's Answer, Mr. Vice-Chamberlain stood up, and having first affirmed that the Speaker's Report was true, he added, that the Queen had commanded him that Morning, to signify to the House, ' That her Highness, moved with some Commiseration for the *Scottish* Queen, in respect of her former Dignity and great Fortunes in her younger Years, her Nearness of Kindred to her Majesty, and also, of her Sex, could be well pleased to forbear taking of her Blood; if, by any other Means to be devised, by the Great Council of this Realm, the Safety of her Majesty's Person and Government might be preserved, without Danger of Ruin and Destruction. But herein she left them; nevertheless, to their own free Liberty and Dispositions, of proceeding otherways, at their Choice. For, as her Majesty would willingly hearken to the Reasons of any particular Member of this House; so, he added, they might exhibit their Thoughts, in that Case, either to any of the Privy-Council, being of that House, or to the Speaker, to be by him delivered to her Majesty.' After

Her Majesty's
Message in Fa-
vour of the
Queen of Scots.

After the aforeſaid Orator had delivered this Meſſage, he took Occaſion to put the Houſe in Mind, that at the Beginning of this Parliament the Lord Chancellor told them, that it was her Ma- jeſty's expreſs Command, no Laws at all ſhould be made in this Seſſion; her Maſteſty purpoſing not to be preſent to give her Royal Aſſent to any. Wherefore he deſired that this Houſe might be ad- journed to the 18th of November; in which Time, he ſaid, it might be her Maſteſty would ſend ſome other Answer to their Petition which ſhe yet had not read. And the Houſe was adjourned accordingly.

On that Day, after many Speeches and Arguments, which, by the by, we find were all on one Side, the Houſe came to a Reſolution, ' That no other Way, Device or Means whatſoever could or can poſſibly be found, or imagined, that ſuch Safety can in any wiſe be had, ſo long as the ſaid Queen of Scots doth, or ſhall live.'

The Journals of the Lords ſay nothing of this Meſſage; but there is Reaſon to believe it was ſent to them, becauſe that Authority informs us, that, on the 22d, ' After many Debates in that Houſe, the Lords agreed that the Matter ſhould be put to the Queſtion, and every Peer being asked his ſeveral Voice answered, with one Con- ſent, *That they could find no other Way.*'

' Item, The ſame Day, they of the Lower Houſe came up, and deſired the Lords to be con- tent to appoint ſome of their Houſe to confer with them, upon the Answer that was to be made to her Highneſs. Whereupon the Lords made Choice of the following, viz. the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Lord-Treaſu- rer, &c. And the Lords, after Conference had with the Committee of the Lower Houſe, made Report that the like Queſtion was propoſed to them of the Commons Houſe, and that they answered all with one Conſent, no Man gainsay- ing, *That they could find no other Way.* Where- upon, the Committees of both Houſes agreed upon

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Queen Elizabeth.
1586.

Both Houses re-
solve to abide by
their Petition.

The Queen's
Ambiguous An-
swer.

‘ upon this Answer to be made to her Majesty,
‘ That having often conferred and long debated
‘ on that Question, according to her Highness’s
‘ Commandment, they could find no other Way
‘ than what was set down in their Petition.
‘ Which Answer, for the Lords, was delivered to
‘ her Majesty, by the Lord Chancellor, and for
‘ the Commons by their Speaker, at *Richmond*,
‘ *Thursday, November* the twenty fourth.’
‘ On the 25th of the same Month, the Lord
‘ Chancellor delivered to the Lords her Majesty’s
‘ Answer to their last Resolution, the Effect where-
‘ of, was put in very extraordinary Terms; If,
‘ said her Majesty, *I should say unto you that I*
‘ *mean not to grant your Petition, by my Faith, I*
‘ *should say unto you more than, perhaps, I mean.*
‘ *And if I should say unto you I mean to grant*
‘ *your Petition, I should then tell you more than is*
‘ *fit for you to know. And thus I must deliver you*
‘ *an Answer Answerless.*’

Thus much *Verbatim* from the Lord’s *Journal*.—
And all we have to add from the same Authority,
is, that a large Entry is made in this last Day’s Pro-
ceedings, of every Thing done in the foregoing,
relating to this Affair; with a Copy of the Petition
at the Conclusion.

The unhappy and predestined Queen of *Scots*
had not one Advocate, in either House, that
would or durst plead in her Favour. The Current
against her was so strong, as would then have over-
thrown all Opposers, and involved them in the same
Ruin. There are several Pieces of broken Speeches
inserted in the Commons *Journals*, all tending to
her Destruction; but so interspersed and unconnec-
ted, as would be very tiresome to a Reader. What
we can collect from the whole of these Arguments
is, first, ‘ That great Stress was laid, on the As-
sociation, which they had sworn to and signed.
This was recommended to the Speaker to be urged
Home to her Majesty. Since, as they said, it re-
spected, more especially, the Consciences of a
great Number of her good and loyal Subjects which
cannot

cannot be dispensed with by Laws. It was, also, proved by invincible Reasons, as the *Journal* terms them, That neither the expected Reformation in the *Scottish* Lady, if the Queen should spare her Life; nor yet, by safer and stronger Guarding of her Person; nor yet, by her Promise upon Word or Oath; nor by the Hostages of other Princes her Allies; nor by her Banishment; nor by the Revocation of the Bull of Pope *Pius V.* (g) nor yet, by the Bonds or Words of a Prince; nor of any or all the Princes her Allies, nor by any other Way or Means whatsoever, other than the speedy Execution of the said *Scottish* Queen, the Safety and Continuance of the True Religion, of the most Royal Person of the Queen's Majesty, and of the peaceable State of this Realm, can, in any wise, be provided for and established.

Queen Elizabeth
1586.

It is easy to see by the Scope and Drift of these Arguments, that most or all these Methods had been proposed, either at Home, or from Abroad, or from both, to save this wretched Queen's Life. It is very probable that all the Princes then in *Christendom* thought themselves interested in it. But it is certain that the violent Party against her, in the House of Commons, were eager to have her speedily destroyed, for fear some foreign Application should have Force enough to save her. This House we are told, was greatly alarmed at the Coming of the *French* Embassador, who arrived in *England*, about this Time, to make some Proposals for saving the Queen of *Scots*. For one Mr. *Grice*, a Member, took Notice in the House, that since that Embassador was to have Audience of her Majesty the next Day; who, he was fully persuaded, within himself, came not for any Good to her Majesty, or to the Realm; yet, knowing that, in such Cases, they are usually attended with a Company of *Rascals*, and the basest Sort of People of their Nation, and this Rabble using to thrust into the Presence of the Prince, along with their Master;

(g) See before pag. 100.

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1586.

Two remarkably
zealous Motions
in the Commons,
thereupon,

Master; He moved, that for better Safety of her Majesty's Most Royal Person, from any desperate Attempt of the said *Frenchmen*, it would please those of this House, who were of the Privy-Council, to take Order that the said Embassador might both be heard and receive his Answer from the Council; and, in no wise, to have Access to her Royal Person. To which it was answered by the Vice-Chamberlain, that this Matter had been considered of, at the Committees of both Houses, and Orders given accordingly.

The last Thing that seems necessary to extract from the *Journal*, relating to this bloody Business, is, that one Day when Mr. Comptroller of the Household, Sir *Francis Knolles*, was giving his Opinion to the House that there was no other Course, &c. He took Occasion to propose that earnest and devout Prayer should be made to God, to incline her Majesty's Heart to the Petition of this House; and that some apt and special Course of Prayer might be devised and put down *by some of this House*; and not only be exercised here every Day, but, also, by all the Members, elsewhere Abroad; and, privately, in their Chambers.

To this pious Motion it was answered by Mr. Treasurer, that he took it to proceed from a good Intention; but said that there was already a Form of Prayer extant, in Print, and used in this House for that Purpose; and every Member might do the same, privately, if he pleased.

Leaving this godly Debate to the Reader's own Reflection; we shall only add, That on the second of *December*, the Lords Commissioners adjourned this Parliament to the 15th Day of *February* following; so that this was one and the same Session, tho' divided by so considerable an Adjournment.

We have been as particular, as possible, in the Recital of this memorable Affair, from the unquestionable Authority of the *Journals*. How they tally with our Biographer, and the more general Historians, will appear in the Sequel. — And, first, hear what Mr. *Cambden* hath left us of

of this Matter. After acquainting us with the Queen's Message to both Houses, about Softning the Sentence, as before related, he goes on thus: Queen Elizabeth.
1586.

After long and serious Deliberation, judging that both the Welfare and Detriment of the Prince concern'd all the Subjects, they unanimously concurr'd again in their former Opinion; and that for these Reasons. *The Queen's Safety (they said) could no Way be secured, as long as the Queen of Scots liv'd, unless she should either seriously repent and acknowledge her Offence; or were kept with a closer Guard, and sufficient Security given by Bond and Oath, for her good Demeanor; or deliver'd Hostages; or else departed the Realm. As for her Repentance, they were out of all Hopes of it; considering that she had so ill requited the Queen who had saved her Life, and would not yet acknowledge her Fault. As for a surer Guard, stricter Custody, Bonds, Oath, and Hostages, they esteem'd them all as nothing worth; because if the Queen's Life were once taken away, all these would presently vanish. And if she should depart the Realm, they fear'd lest she should presently take up Arms and invade the same.* The Parliament's
further Reasons
for the Scots
Queen's Execu-
tion.

These Reasons the Lord-Chancellor, and Puckering Speaker of the Lower House, explain'd and open'd more at large, pressing hard that the Sentence might be put in Execution; because, as it were Injustice to deny Execution of the Law to any one of her Subjects that should demand it; so much more to the whole Body of her People of England, unanimously and with one Voice humbly and instantly suing for the same. The Queen answered as follows,

VERY displeasing is that Way, where the Setting out, Progress and Journey's End yield nothing but Trouble and Vexation. I have this Day been in greater Conflict with myself, than ever I was in all my Life, whether I should speak, or hold my Peace. If I should speak, and not complain, I shall dissemble: If I should be silent, all your Labour and Pains taken were in vain: And if I should complain, it might Queen Eliza-
beth's Answer.

Queen Elizabeth
1586.

might seem a strange and unusual Thing. Yet I confess, that my hearty Desire was, that some other Means might have been devised, to provide for your Security and my own Safety, than this which is now propounded. So that I cannot but complain, though not of you, yet to you, since I perceive by your Petition, that my Safety depends wholly upon the Ruin of another. If there be any that think I have spun out the Time on purpose to get Commendation, by a seeming Shew of Clemency, they do me Wrong undeservedly, as he knows who is the Searcher of the most secret Thoughts of the Heart. Or if there be any that are persuaded the Commissioners durst pronounce no other Sentence for Fear they should thereby displease me, or seem to fail of their Care for my Preservation, they do but burthen and wrong me with such injurious Conceits. For either those whom I put in Trust have fail'd of their Duties; or else they acquainted the Commissioners in my Name, that my Will and Pleasure was, that every one should act freely, according to his Conscience; and what they thought not fit to be made publick, that they should communicate to me in private. It was of my favourable Inclination towards her, that I desired some other Way might be found out, to prevent this Mischief. But since it is now resolv'd, that my Security is desperate without her Death, I find a great Reluctancy and Trouble within me, that I, who have in my Time pardon'd so many Rebels, wink'd at so many Treasons, or neglected them by Silence, should now seem to shew myself cruel towards so great a Princess.

I have, since I came to the Government of this Realm, seen many defamatory Libels and Pamphlets against me, taxing me to be a Tyrant. Well fare the Writers Hearts; I believe their Meaning was to tell me News. And News indeed it was to me to be branded with Tyranny. I would it were as great News to hear of their Wickedness and Impiety. But what is it which they will not venture to write now, when they shall hear that I have given my Consent, that the Executioner's Hands should be imbrued in
the

the Blood of my nearest Kinswoman ? But so far am I ^{Queen Elizabeth.}
from Cruelty, that, though it were to save my own Life, 1586.
I would not offer her the least Violence: Neither have I
been so careful how to preserve my own Life, as how to
preserve both her's and mine: Which that it is now
impossible to do, I am heartily troubled. I am not so
void of Sense and Judgment, as not to see my own Dan-
ger before my Eyes; nor so indiscreet, as to sharpen a
Sword to cut my own Throat; nor so egregiously care-
less, as not to provide for the Safety of my own Life.
This I consider with myself, that many a Man would
hazard his own Life to save the Life of a Princess;
but I am not of their Opinion. These Things have I
many Times thought upon seriously with myself.

But since so many have both written and spoken
against me, give me Leave, I pray you, to say some-
what in my own Defence, that ye may see what
Manner of Woman I am, for whose Safety and Pre-
servation ye have taken such extraordinary Care.
Wherein as I do, with a most thankful Heart, discern
and read your great Vigilance; so am I sure I shall
never requite it, had I as many Lives as all you
together.

When first I took the Scepter into my Hand, I
was not unmindful of God the Giver, and therefore
I began my Reign with securing his Service, and
the Religion I had been both born in, bred in, and,
I trust, shall die in. And though I was not igno-
rant how many Dangers I should meet withal at
Home, for my altering Religion, and how many
great Princes Abroad of a contrary Profession would
in that Respect bear an hostile Mind towards me:
Yet was I no whit dismay'd thereat, knowing that
God, whom alone I ey'd and respected, would defend
both me and my Cause. Hence it is that so many
Treacheries and Conspiracies have been attempted
against me, that I might well admire to find myself
alive at this present Day, were it not that God's ho-
ly Hand has still protected me beyond all Expecta-
tion. Next, to the End I might make the better
Progress in the Art of Ruling well, I had long and
serious Cogitations with myself what Things were
most

Queen Elizabeth.
1586.

most worthy and becoming Kings to do: And I found it absolutely that they should be completely furnished with those prime capital Virtues, Justice, Temperance, Prudence and Magnanimity. Of the two latter I will not boast myself; my Sex does not permit it; they are proper to Men. But for the two former and less rough, I dare say, (and that without Ostentation) I never made a Difference of Persons, but high and low had equally Right done them: I never preferr'd any for Favour whom I thought not fit and worthy: I never was forward to believe Stories at the first Telling; nor was I so rash as to suffer my Judgment to be forestall'd with Prejudice, before I had heard the Cause. I will not say but many Reports might haply be brought me, too much in Favour of the one Side or the other: For a good and a wary Prince may sometimes be bought and sold, whilst we cannot hear all ourselves. Yet this I dare say boldly, My Judgment (as far as I could understand the Case) ever went with the Truth. And as Alcibiades advised his Friend, not to give any Answer till he had run over the Letters of the whole Alphabet; so have I never used rash and sudden Resolutions in any Thing.

And therefore as touching your Counsels and Consultations, I acknowledge them to have been with such Care and Providence, and so advantageous for the Preservation of my Life, and to proceed from Hearts so sincere and devoted to me, that I shall endeavour what lies in my Power, to give you Cause to think your Pains not ill-bestow'd, and strive to shew myself worthy of such Subjects.

And now for your Petition, I desire you for the present to content yourselves with an Answer without Answer. Your Judgment I condemn not, neither do I mistake your Reasons: But I must desire you to excuse those thoughtful Doubts and Cares, which as yet perplex my Mind; and to rest satisfy'd with the Profession of my thankful Esteem of your Affections, and the Answer I have given, if you take it for any Answer at all. If I should say I will not do what you request, I might say, perhaps, more than I intend:

tend: And if I should say I will do it, I might plunge myself into as bad Inconveniences as you endeavour to preserve me from: Which I am confident your Wisdoms and Discretions would not that I should, if ye consider the Circumstances of Place, Time, and the Manners and Conditions of Men (b).

Queen Elizabeth.
1587.

To conclude this long and melancholy Business. The unhappy Queen of Scots fell a Sacrifice to the Romish Religion; and, as she complains herself, in her last Letter to Queen Elizabeth, to those zealous Puritans, who then bore the chief Sway in England. Constrained by Necessity, and at the earnest Prayers and Entreaties of both Houses of Parliament, Elizabeth first suffered the Sentence to be publickly proclaimed against her; and then shut her Eyes whilst the bloody Decree was put in Execution. What Bustle was made about Davison, the Secretary, afterwards, is very well known. Most Historians think this was all a Farce; as well as the great Reluctance that was previous to it. Queen Elizabeth's own Chronicler writes, that *It was thought to proceed from the natural Art and Guise of Women; who, tho' they desire a Thing never so much, yet will always seem rather to be constrained and forced to it (i).*

Mary Queen of
Scots beheaded.

It is observable, that the Proceedings of the last Parliament were different from any that was ever summoned before in this Kingdom. No Bills of any Kind were exhibited in either House; and consequently, no Acts were passed at the End of it. They seemed to be called, only, to constitute a higher Tribunal; to re-hear and re-examine the Letters and Evidences against the Queen of Scots, and confirm the Sentence. By which Means of Proceeding against Crowned Heads, Elizabeth gave

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(b) The curious Inquirer may find this Matter more at large in the Supplement to Hollingshead's Chronicle, (Pag. 1580 to 1587.) ending in this very Year; where this whole Affair is drawn up and deliver'd in the Language and Orthography of the Times.

(i) Camden Pag. 528. The Queen of Scots was beheaded at Fotheringbay-Castle, Feb. 8. 1587. So that from the Time that Sentence was pronounced against her, she was suffered to live, in a terrible State of Uncertainty, very near four Months,

Queen Elizabeth
1587.

the Parliament a Power, which, one Branch of it, too fatally, took to themselves, in a succeeding Reign.

The Spanish In-
vasion.

We now enter upon a Year, which will be ever memorable for one of the greatest Deliverances this Nation ever had, from its most formidable Enemies. *Cambden* introduces it with Presages and Prophecies, all ominous to *England*. Reports and Rumours were no longer uncertain, but it was now most certainly known that an invincible *Armada* was rigged and prepared in the Ports of *Spain*, in order to invade *England*. And that the most famous Officers and Soldiers were sent for, from different Parts of the World, to assist in this Expedition.

Anno Regni 29,
1587-8.
At Westminster.

But, whilst these Preparations were making Abroad, the *English* Parliament met at Home, according to the Adjournment, *February* the 15th. It is very surprising that the particular Writer of this Reign has not one Word about this second Meeting; especially when there were some memorable Things, relating to the Exigencies of the Times, transacted in it. He seems to be so intent on the raising Forces for the Security of the Kingdom, that he has forgot the very Sinews of War, without which all martial Preparations are in vain.

The two first Days there was nothing done, because the Lord Chancellor was sick; on the 17th Sir *Edmund Anderson*, Knt. Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, read publicly in the House of Lords, a Commission from the Queen, directed to himself, by which he was authorized and appointed, in the Absence of the said Lord Chancellor, to act in his Stead.

4 Subsidy.

The succeeding Days, to *March* the 7th, there were only some Bills read for the better regulating some Branches of the Law. But, on the Day aforesaid, a Bill was sent up by the Commons, entitled, An Act for one entire *Subsidy* (*k*), and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, to be granted to her Majesty by the Temporality. And it passed the

(*k*) The same as before. *Stowe*, p. 741.

the House on the 9th Instant. The next Day a ^{Queen Elizabeth.} Bill for the Confirmation of one entire Subsidy, ^{1587 8.} from the Clergy, of Six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in three Years, was read and passed also.

But these dilatory Acts not answering the pressing Occasions of the State; on the 11th of *March*, a Message was sent from the Commons, requesting that it would please the Lords to appoint a Number of their House for a Conference with a Committee of the other. Accordingly the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, the Earls of *Kent*, *Worcester*, *Rutland*, *Hertford*, and *Leicester*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester* and *Salisbury*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Morley*, *Grey*, *Stafford*, *Stourton*, *Cromwell*, *North*, *Delaware* and *Norris*, were appointed. Who, the same Day, after the Conference, made a Report to the House, 'That the Commons made humble Suit to their Lordships, to have the Lords of this House join with them in a Contribution or *Benevolence*, which they of the Lower House meant to offer unto her Majesty. The Manner, how they meant to proceed therein, was opened by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. On which Report of the Committee, the Lords thought good to refer their Answers herein till *Monday* next.'

A Benevolence from the Commons.

But we hear no more of this Matter until *Wednesday* the 15th; when another *Memorandum* is entered, 'That this Day the Lords of the Committee made Report unto the whole House, that upon divers Conferences had with the Committee of the Lower House, touching their Request made to the Lords to join with them in Petition to her Majesty about a *Benevolence*, or Contribution, which they of the Lower House thought good to offer unto her Majesty; the said Lords of the Committee thought it good, for divers Reasons, to join with the Commons therein, which Reasons, when the whole House had heard and considered, their Lordships did resolve that the Commons should be left to themselves, and that

Queen Elizabeth.
1587-8.

‘ they would take such Order herein as to their Lordships shall seem convenient.’

Accordingly, the same Lords, as before, were chosen a new Committee to resolve upon the Contribution; when after some Conference had amongst themselves, in Respect of the great Charges her Majesty hath heretofore been at, and that her Highness must be enforced to be at hereafter, for the Defence of this Realm, and other her Majesty's Dominions, they resolv'd freely to offer and give unto her *two Shillings in the Pound*, after the Rate of the Valuation of the Subsidy of the Temporality, granted in this present Session of Parliament, to be paid unto such Persons, and at such Times, as it shall please her Majesty to appoint. Which Resolution being afterwards openly declared unto the whole House, the Temporal Lords, in regard that the Lords Spiritual had made a prior Offer of Contribution to her Majesty, did altogether, with one Consent, most willingly, ratify the said Resolution, both touching the Sum and the Payment thereof, and ordered that this free Gift should be entered on Record; and that such of the Lords as were then present, of her Majesty's Privy Council, should signify the same to her Highness, in all their Names.

And from the
Lords,

Attainders of the
Queen of Scots
Accomplices.

In this Session there was an Act passed for confirming the Attainders of *Thomas* late Lord *Pagett*, and others, who are marked by initial Letters in the printed Statutes; but *Cambden* hath explained these to be *Charles Paget*, Sir *Francis Englefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chidioch Tichburne*, *Charles Tilney*, and the rest of the Conspirators, on the Queen of Scots Account, who had been tried and executed some Time before. By this Act, all their Goods and Possessions were confiscated; but our Historian places it as made at the first Meeting of this Parliament, whereas it was passed in the second.

This second Session lasted but about five Weeks, in which there were ten Acts expedited, nine of which

which are mentioned in the printed Statutes; but none remarkable enough to be taken any more Notice of here. One Thing, however, is memorable, that on the last Day of the Session, the Commons sent up a new Bill, for the Sale of the Lands of one *Thomas Handford*, for a Debt due to the Crown, &c. when the Lords had before passed a Bill to the same Effect, and sent it down to the Commons. Therefore it is entered that since the Commons had rejected their Bill, without Conference with some of the Lords of this House, and framed a new Bill and sent it up; their Lordships thought it a Precedent so strange, and so far contrary to the Orders of this House, that they resolved to put it to the Question, Whether this new Bill should by the Orders of this House be read here or not? The whole House being particularly asked their Opinions, with one Consent, they concluded, that it should not be read.

Queen Elizabeth.
1587-8.

This is all that is material in the Lords *Journals*, but that of the Commons is much more filled with Matters of Consequence, which happen'd at this second Meeting of the Parliament. We are told, that on the 22d of *February*, the Day this House met, after another short Adjournment, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Kt. Vice-Chamberlain, acquainted the House, 'That it was her Majesty's Pleasure that they should have disclosed to them the Dangers the Nation then stood in; That she thanked God she had so good a House of Commons, and wished this Session might be short, that Men concerned as Governors might go home to their Governments, for the Sake of Hospitality and Defence; and to take another Time for making Laws, except such as are now necessary.' The Dangers which he spoke of, he urged, were those of antient Malice against the Queen; which were to be prepared for, and God invoked for his Assistance. The Substance of the rest of his Speech, he drew up under the following Heads;

Sir Christ. Hatton
opens to the
House the Affair
of the Spanish
Invasion.

'The *Catholics* abroad, the *Pope*, the King of *Spain*, the Princes of the League, the *Papists* at home, and their Ministers.'

Queen Elizabeth,
1587-8.

The principal Root thereof :

‘ The Council of *Trent*, which agreed to extirpate Christian Religion (which they term Heresie) whereunto divers Princes assented, and bound themselves in solemn Manner.

‘ Pope *Pius* the Fifth sent his Excommunication against her Majesty ; Dr *Morton* and *Mendoza*, a *Spanish* Ambassador, bestirred them ; a Northern Rebellion was bred, the Pope and the rest practised for the *Scottish* Queen, and she being acquainted proceeds by their Means.

‘ Pope *Paulus*, the Thirteenth, proceeds, and sends *Jesuits* and *Seminaries* to *England* and *Ireland*, and they proceed to inveigle the Subjects, and dissuade them from Obedience. *Visko* beginning a Rebellion in *Ireland*. *James Fitz-Morris* furthereth the Execution thereof. Doctor *Sanders* and *Desmond* stir new Rebellion there, and wrote into *England*, &c. *Parry* was moved to kill her Majesty, and persuaded it was meritorious (1).

‘ Pope *Sixtus*, the Fifth, imitateth the other Popes to execute their former Devices, and writeth to the Cardinals of *Lorraine* and *Guise*, that he will overthrow the Gospel (which Mr Vice-Chamberlain honourably termed the glorious Gospel) and therefore moved them to join with the Princes of the League, and to practise to win the King of *Scots*, and to set up the *Scottish* Queen in *England*, and made his Reckoning of the Cantons that be Popish, the *Switzers*, the Duke of *Savoy*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, King of *Spain*, and King of *France*. A chief Instrument to work this, was Father *Henry*.

‘ He was sent into *Germany*, and over *Italy* and *France*, and wrote to the *Scottish* Queen, that the Powers will join to overthrow *England*, and make known the Effect of his Labour to the Pope. Invasion should have been made into *England* and *Ireland* the last Year, and not unlike to be attempted this Year.

‘ The Pope excommunicateth the King of *Navar*. The Pope accounteth not of Popish Preaching

(1) See, before, p. 259, 263.

ing and Persuasions that Way ; but nevertheless Queen Elizabeth.
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moveth all to use the World, and for Maintenance thereof spareth his Treasure otherwise, and withdraweth Maintenance from *Jesuits* and *Seminaries* : And divers others Letters were found with the *Scottish* Queen, which prove all these to be true. If we serve Almighty God in Sincerity of Heart, we need not to fear. It is to be remembred that the King of *Spain* sought to recover some Part of his Father's Credit, by using our Treasure and Force to get St *Quintin's* ; but he soon made his Advantage of it, and regarded not our Territories in *France*, but suffered the Loss of *Calais* and all our Territories ; and after the Death of Queen *Mary* what he could. Her Majesty sought for his Good-Will, sending the Lord *Montague*, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Thomas Chamberlain*, Kt. Mr *Maun*, and others ; and they were but hardly used, some of them were offered great Indignity and Mr *Maun's* Son forced, by Strength, to do a Kind of Penance. He comforted the Queen's Enemies, he giveth Colour of Wars, he chargeth the Queen that her Subjects have aided his Rebels in the *Low-Countries*, with countenancing *Monsieur (m)* with Money at *Cambray*, with sending her Nobility with him into the *Low Countries*, with the Actions of Sir *Francis Drake*, with Assistance of the *Low-Countries*.

‘ Of the Purpose of the Combined Princes :

‘ Their Shew is to deal with the King of *Navarr* to extirpate him, but their Drift is to ruin Religion, not only there, but to set upon and to work the Ruin of it here also ; wherein the Cardinals of *Lorain* and *Guise* are now very busie. Their Malice is the more for Executing the *Scottish* Queen, but their Hope is the less. The King of *Spain's* Designments are to invade *England* and *Ireland*.

‘ His

(m) The famous Duke *D'Alençon*, mention'd before (P. 232, et seq.) whom the *Netherlanders* chose for their Governor at their Revolt from *Spain*. SALMON'S *Mod. Hist.* Vol. II.

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‘ His Preparation :

‘ Three hundred and sixty Sail of *Spain*. Eighty Gallies from *Venice* and *Genoa*. One Gallias with six hundred armed Men, from the Duke of *Florence*. Twelve thousand Men maintained by *Italy* and the Pope. Six thousand by the *Spanish* Clergy. Twelve thousand by his Nobility and Gentry of *Spain*. It is reported, that ten thousand of these be Horsemen; I think it not all true, but something there is.

‘ We must look to the Papists at home and abroad. It hath touched us in the Blood of the Nobility, and the Blood of many Subjects.

‘ They practise to frame Subjects against all Duty, and bring in Doctrine of Lawfulness and Merit to kill the Queen, and have sent their Instruments abroad to that Purpose.

‘ Two Manner of Forces are to be handled. Assistance to the *Low-Countries*, and Defence by Force otherwise. That God may assist us in Justice, in Right, in Defence against those Princes.

‘ The Assistance is acceptable that will be profitable. Her Majesty oweth Relief there in Honour, according to the Leagues, especially between us and the House of *Burgundy*: Which Leagues differ from Leagues growing between Prince and Prince, for they grew between the People and this State. We are bound to help them in Honour according to the Leagues. Many Marriages and many Secrecies have been long between us, and the relieving of the Afflictions of that People may not be omitted.

‘ The Heads of their Miseries are, the *Spanish* Inquisition by *Placard*, using strange Tortures not to be suffered; great Impositions without and against Law, sending some of their People into *Spain* and there tyrannized over; their Noblemen done away; taking their Towns, and setting Tyrants over them to use them like Dogs. The Purpose was to bring the *Low-Countries* into a Monarchal Seat, and then, *Væ nobis*. The Queen’s Dealing there is warranted by God. The Queen
is

is occasioned of Necessity for Safety of her Dominions and us, that that Country may be preserved, that the *English* Commodities may be vented there with Readiness, with Safety and with Profit; the Recovery thereof will be good for this Country and Crown; it may not be suffered that a Neighbour should grow too strong. (He commended the Princes of *Italy*, and especially the Duke of *Florence*, for using that Policy; *Henry* the Seventh for aiding the Duke of *Britany* with eight thousand Men, rather than the King of *France*, after he had found great Friendship of them both, that the King of *France* might not grow too strong.)

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‘ The King of *Spain* seeketh to be yet greater; he hath already a Seat in Council amongst the Princes of *Germany*, by reason of Territories his Father got there; and, if he could, he would frame the *Low-Countries* to his Desire.

‘ As to the Pretence of Injuries before remembered: As to the first going over, her Majesty misliked it, and punished some of the Captains (he named Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* for one.) Concerning *Monsieur*, the first Time her Majesty drew him from proceeding for the *Low-Countries*; the second Time she consented that he should only assist the *Low-Countries*, which *Monsieur* afterwards abused, contrary to her Majesty’s Meaning. Concerning Mr *Drake*’s first Voyage, her Majesty knew it not; and when he came home, she seized the whole Mass of Substance, brought by him, to satisfy the King of *Spain* (if Cause so required) and thereupon desired Certificate for Invasion into *Ireland*.

‘ Concerning Mr *Drake*’s last Voyage, it was to meet with the Restraints and Seisures in *Spain*, and their Purpose of War was thereupon discovered; for there was found by the Master of Mr *Bond*’s Ship, who took the *Corrigedore*, and others, a Commission from the King of *Spain*, whereby he termed us his Rebels, as he termed the *Low-Countries*.’

‘ He

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‘ He then remembred another Grievance not touched before, which was the Entertaining of Don *Anthony* (n).

‘ Which he answered to be done in honourable Courtesie, because of his State, who was a King appointed and crowned; though his Seat was not long untroubled, and coming hither in honourable and courteous Manner, though something weakned, required the Entertainment he had.

‘ Then he iterated, that the great Grief is Religion, and said that all godly ones are bound to defend it. He then commended her Majesty’s Courage against her Enemies Malice, esteeming it no less than the stoutest Kings in *Europe*.

‘ Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, after Mr Vice-Chamberlain’s Speeches ended, remembred some of the former, and inferred, and so concluded, that the great Preparations of War which was fit speedily to be thought of and provided, would grow chargeable; and therefore thought it fit with Expedition, that the House should appoint a convenient Number to set down Articles for a *Subsidy*. Whereupon all the Privy-Council being of this House, the first Knight for every Shire, and others, were appointed to meet in the Exchequer-Chamber, at two in the Afternoon.’

Debate on a Motion for Alteration of the Common Prayer-Book.

‘ *February 27.* Mr *Cope*, a Member of this House, stood up to make a Motion; and after using some Speeches touching the Necessity of a learned Ministry, and the Amendment of Things amiss in the Ecclesiastical Estate, offered to the House a *Bill*, and a written Book; the Bill containing a *Petition* that it might be enacted, that all Laws, now in Force, touching Ecclesiastical Government, should be void: And that it might be enacted, that the Book of Common-Prayer, now offered and none other, might be received into the Church to be used. The Book contained the Form of

(n) Natural Son of *John III.* King of *Portugal*, whom the *English* assisted in his Pretensions to that Crown, against *Philip II.* King of *Spain*.

of Prayer and Adminiftration of Sacraments, with *Queen Elizabeth.*
divers Rites and Ceremonies, to be ufed in the Church. And defiring that the Book might be read,
Mr Speaker, in Effect, ufed this Speech : 1587-8.

‘ For that her Majesty before this Time had commanded the Houfe not to meddle with this Matter, and that her Majesty had promifed to take Order in thofe Cafes, he doubted not but to the good Satisfaction of all her People ; he defired that it would pleafe them to spare the Reading of it. Notwithstanding the Houfe defired the Reading of it. Whereupon Mr Speaker willed the Clerk to read it. And the Clerk being ready to read it, Mr *Dalton* made a Motion againft the Reading of it, faying, that it was not meet to be read, and that it did appoint a new Form of Adminiftration of the Sacraments and Ceremonies of the Church, to the Difcredit of the Book of Common-Prayer and the whole State ; and thought that this Dealing would bring her Majesty’s Indignation againft the Houfe, thus to enterprize the Dealing with thofe Things which her Majesty efpecially had taken into her own Charge and Direction. Whereupon Mr *Lewkenor* fpoke, fhewing the Necessity of Preaching, and of a learned Miniftry, and thought it very fit that the Petition and Book fhould be read. To this Purpose fpake Mr *Harleston* and Mr *Bainbrigg*, and fo the Time being paffed the Houfe brake up, and neither the Petition nor Book read.’

‘ This done her Majesty fent to Mr Speaker as well for this Petition and Book, as for that other Petition and Book for the like Effect, that was delivered the laft Seflion of Parliament ; which Mr Speaker fent to her Majesty.’

‘ On the 28th of *February* her Majesty fent for Mr Speaker, by occafion whereof the Houfe did not fit.’

‘ On the firft of *March* Mr *Wentworth* delivered unto Mr Speaker certain Articles, which contained Questions touching the Liberties of the Houfe, and to fome of which he was to answer, and defired they might be read. Mr Speaker required

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Queen Elizabeth. 1587-8. quired him to spare his Motion until her Majesty's Pleasure was further known touching the Petition and Book lately delivered into the House; but Mr. *Wentworth* would not be so satisfied, but required his Articles might be read. Mr. Speaker said he would peruse them, and then do what was fit.

This is all the *Journals* afford us, but Sir *Symonds Dewes* has given us Mr. *Wentworth's* Speech and the Questions at large, which are too important to be omitted.

Mr. Speaker,

Mr. *Wentworth's* Speech relating to the Liberties of the House.

FORASMUCH as such Laws as God is to be honoured by, and that also such Laws as our Noble Sovereign and this worthy Realm of *England* are to be enriched, strengthened and preserved by, from all foreign and domestic Enemies and Traitors, are to be made by this Honourable Council, I as being one moved and stirred up by all dutiful Love, and desirous even for Conscience sake, and of a Mind to set forward God's Glory, the Wealth, Strength and Safety of our natural Queen and Commonwealth, do earnestly desire, by Question, to be satisfied of a few Questions to be moved by you Mr. Speaker, concerning the Liberty of this Honourable Council; for I do assure you, I praise my God for it, that I do find in myself a willing Mind to deliver unto this Honourable Assembly some little Taste and Account of that simple Talent, which it hath pleased God of his singular Favour and Goodness to bestow upon me, to gain to his Highness's Honour and Glory; and to shew unto my Noble Prince and Commonwealth, true, faithful, and dutiful Service; of the which Mind, I am sure, Mr. Speaker, here are many godly, faithful, and true-hearted Gentlemen in this Honourable Assembly; howbeit, the Want of Knowledge and Experience of the Liberties of this Honourable Council, doth hold and stay us back. For as we have a hearty Desire to serve God, her Majesty, and this noble Realm; even so are we fearful and loath to give or offer any Offence to her Majesty,

OR

‘ or unto her Laws; the which, we presume, we
 ‘ shall not do, if we keep ourselves within the
 ‘ Circle of them, and no Man can observe that
 ‘ whereof he is ignorant. Wherefore I pray you,
 ‘ Mr. Speaker, eftsoons to move these few Ar-
 ‘ ticles, by Question, whereby every one of this
 ‘ House may know, how far he may proceed in
 ‘ this Honourable Council, in Matters that concern
 ‘ the Glory of God, and our true and loyal Service
 ‘ to our Prince and State. For I am fully persua-
 ‘ ded, that God cannot be honoured, neither our
 ‘ Noble Prince or Commonweal preserved or main-
 ‘ tained, without free Speech and Consultation of
 ‘ this Honourable Council, both which consist
 ‘ upon the Liberties of this Honourable Council,
 ‘ and the Knowledge of them also. So here are
 ‘ the Questions, Mr. Speaker: I humbly and hear-
 ‘ tily beseech you to give them a Reading, and
 ‘ God grant us true and faithful Hearts in Answer-
 ‘ ing of them; for the true, faithful, and hearty Ser-
 ‘ vice of our merciful God, our lawful Prince,
 ‘ and this whole and worthy Realm of *England*,
 ‘ will much consist hereafter upon the Answer un-
 ‘ to these Questions. Wherefore it behoveth us to
 ‘ use wise, grave, and godly Considerations in An-
 ‘ swering of them.’

‘ Therefore the Lord direct our Tongues, that
 ‘ we may answer them even with his Spirit, the
 ‘ Spirit of Wisdom, without the which our Wis-
 ‘ dom is nothing else but Foolishness.’

The QUESTIONS.

‘ Whether this Council be not a Place for any
 ‘ Member of the same here assembled, freely and
 ‘ without Controlment of any Person, or Danger
 ‘ of Laws, by Bill or Speech, to utter any of the
 ‘ Grievs of this Commonwealth whatsoever, touch-
 ‘ ing the Service of God, the Safety of the Prince
 ‘ and this noble Realm?

‘ Whether that great Honour may be done unto
 ‘ God, and Benefit and Service unto the Prince
 ‘ and

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‘ and State without free Speech in this Council,
‘ which may be done with it?

‘ Whether there be any Council which can
‘ make, add to, or diminish from the Laws of the
‘ Realm, but only this Council of Parliament?

‘ Whether it be not against the Orders of this
‘ Council to make any Secret or Matter of Weight,
‘ which is here in Hand, known to the Prince or
‘ any other, concerning the high Service of God,
‘ Prince or State, without the Consent of the
‘ House?

‘ Whether the Speaker, or any other, may inter-
‘ rupt any Member of this Council in his Speech
‘ used in this House, tending to any of the fore-
‘ named high Services?

‘ Whether the Speaker may rise when he will,
‘ any Matter being propounded, without Consent
‘ of the House or not?

‘ Whether the Speaker may over-rule the House
‘ in any Matter or Cause there in Question; or
‘ whether he is to be ruled or over-ruled in any
‘ Matter or not?

‘ Whether the Prince and State can continue,
‘ stand and be maintained without this Council of
‘ Parliament, but by altering the Government of
‘ the State?’

For which he and
four more are
committed to the
Tower by the
Privy-Council.

We are told that the Speaker did not think proper to put these Questions to the House; but shewed them to Sir *Thomas Heneage*, a Privy-Counsellor; and soon after Mr. *Wentworth* was committed Prisoner to the *Tower*. And *March* the 2d, Mr. *Cope*, Mr. *Lewkenor*, Mr. *Harleston* and Mr. *Baynbrigg*, the four Speakers to the Motion aforesaid, were sent for before the Lord Chancellor and divers of the Privy-Council, and by them sent to the *Tower* after Mr. *Wentworth*.

Debate there-
upon.

Two Days after this, whilst the House was sitting, Sir *John Higham*, made a Motion, ‘ That,
‘ since several good and necessary Members of that
‘ House were taken from them, it would please
‘ them

‘ them to be humble Petitioners to her Majesty for Queen Elizabeth.
 ‘ the Restitution of them again to the House.’ 1587-8.

To which Mr. Vice-Chamberlain answered,
 ‘ That if the Gentlemen were committed for
 ‘ Matter within the Compass of the Privilege of
 ‘ the House, then there might be Room for a Pe-
 ‘ tition. But, if not, adds he, we shall occasion
 ‘ her Majesty’s further Displeasure. He rather ad-
 ‘ vised to stay till they heard more, which could
 ‘ not be long. And, further, as to the Book and
 ‘ the Petition, her Majesty had, for divers good
 ‘ Causes best known to herself, thought fit to sup-
 ‘ press the same, without any farther Examination
 ‘ of them. And yet he conceiv’d it *very unfit for*
 ‘ *her Majesty to give any Account of her Actions.*’

We hear no more of this Matter, nor how long
 these Gentlemen were Prisoners in the *Tower*; and
 it is surprizing that neither *Cambden*, nor any other
 Historian take any Notice of so important an Af-
 fair. The rest of this Session was taken up with
 Matters of no Significancy in this House; except
 in the Reading and Passing some Bills already men-
 tioned in our Account of the other. So that on
March the 23d, the Lord Chief Justice declared
 to both the Houses, in Form, that her Majesty for
 certain Reasons could not come down to the House
 to pass the Bills; and therefore had granted her Let-
 ters Patents, in which the Titles of all the Bills
 are, particularly, recited for that Purpose. Which
 Commission, being openly read, the said Lord
 Chief Justice produced other Letters Patents, di-
 rected to the two Archbishops, the great Officers of
 State, &c. &c. constituting them her Majesty’s
 Commissioners to dissolve this Parliament; which The Parliament
 dissolv’d.
 being read, as the former, the Parliament was dis-
 solved accordingly.

The *Spanish* Invasion now engrosses all the
 Heads and Pens of our *English* Historians; and
 many Pages together, in our larger Writers, are
 bestowed, in an exact Detail of that prodigious
 Enterprize and ever-glorious Overthrow. The
 Constitutional Part of our Nation lies wholly
 neglected

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neglected by them for some Years after; and they forget to tell us that the State was almost Bankrupt by it. The *Spanish* Captures did by no Means discharge the vast Debt the Nation run into, by the mighty Preparations made to hinder this Invasion from taking Effect; as the Proceedings of the next Parliament evince to some Purpose; for never such a Supply was granted, at one Time, by any Parliament before.

Not long after, this grand Affair being over, and the Kingdom perfectly relieved from the Fear of a foreign Yoke; when the Queen had rewarded her brave Admirals and Commanders, for their extraordinary Conduct and great Valour shewn on the Occasion, as well as she could, but not equal to their Merit; Her Majesty, by the Advice of her Council, thought proper to summon a Parliament, to meet at *Westminster*, on the 12th Day of *November* in the 30th Year of her Reign. When being assembled, accordingly, it was by Letters Patents, directed to Sir *Christopher Hatton* Kt. then Lord Chancellor, *William* Lord *Burleigh*, Lord Treasurer, &c. prorogued from that Day to the 4th of *February* next ensuing (o).

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At Westminster. At which Time, being again assembled, and the Queen present, the Lord Chancellor opened the Cause of the Summons to both Houses of Parliament to this Effect; He told them, (p)

‘ That her Majesty had made it her constant
‘ Study, from the very Beginning of her Reign
‘ to this Time, to preserve Peace; not only
‘ at Home but also Abroad. That she had given
‘ no Occasion to the many Princes about her to
‘ invade her Dominions. Nor had taken Arms
‘ to revenge the many Injuries which others had
‘ brought against her. Peace she ever had above
‘ all Things at Heart, had nourished and preserved
‘ it. Neither the Infant State of *Scotland*, nor
‘ the Treachery of *France*, nor the Divisions of
‘ her Enemies, nor the frequent Sollicitations of
‘ the

(o) *Dugdale's Summons to Parliament.* — *Journ. Procer.*

(p) Translated from the *Latin* in the *Journals* of the Lords;

' *Dutch*, nor even all these Things, could move Queen Elizabeth,
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 ' her to make War. And, when she heard that
 ' mighty Preparations were making against her and
 ' her Kingdom, she chose rather to propose Peace
 ' than to cast all Hopes of it aside; for she sent a
 ' Set of grave, prudent, and noble Persons, as
 ' her Embassadors, to treat of it. Which, whilst
 ' they were labouring to effect, behold, a vast
 ' Navy of *Spanish* Ships were seen on our *English*
 ' Coasts. Such a Navy, that for Number and
 ' Greatness of the Ships, for Quantity of Arms
 ' and military Forces, and for all Kinds of neces-
 ' sary Stores, was never seen to float on the Ocean
 ' before. But God Almighty, her Majesty's
 ' Hope, Defender and Preserver, rendered this
 ' vast *Armado* of her Enemies vain and useless.
 ' For the *British* Navy, by far inferior in Number
 ' and Strength, happily attacked, once and again,
 ' those huge rais'd-up Rocks and Mountains of
 ' Ships (q); and, at the third Conflict, so disper-
 ' sed, shattered and disabled them, that, never
 ' thinking to renew the Fight, they fled for it,
 ' and took a long Course hitherto unheard of;
 ' for they steered round *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the
 ' most *Northern* Regions, and by those Means
 ' hoped to regain the *Spanish* Coasts. But what
 ' Shipwracks they suffered, what Hardships they
 ' bore, how many Ships, Soldiers and Seamen
 ' they lost, neither can they yet know, nor we
 ' for certain, learn. Some few Ships escaped to
 ' *Spain*; but so shaken, shattered and forlorn, as
 ' they can never be of Use to them again. The
 ' Soldiers and Sailors who have survived, were so
 ' miserably harrassed by Hunger, Thirst, and other
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(q) The *Latin* is here *immanes illas Scyllas et Centauras*, by which Classical Expression, we suppose that the Chancellor, who is represented, by *Cambden*, as a very learned Man, gave a Translation of his Speech for the Clerk to enter in the *Journal*. The Speeches and Proceedings, for many Years before this Time, are almost all put down in *English*.

It is somewhat remarkable that there is but a very poor Abstract of this Speech in *Dewes's Journals*.

Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9. 'Hardships, that they cannot, of a long Time, recover their former Health.

'But to what End, says he, do I, by this Recital endeavour to make you secure and void of Fear? Do not you imagine, I say, that they are ardently studious of Revenge; and that they will not employ the Power, the Strength, the Riches of *Spain*, and the Forces of both Kingdoms, to accomplish it? Know you not the Pride, Fury and Bitterness of the *Spaniard* against you? Yes, adds he, this is the great Cause of Summoning this Parliament; that in this most full Assembly of the wisest and most prudent Persons, called together from all Parts of this Kingdom, as far as human Council can advise, a diligent Preparation may be made, that Arms and Forces and Money may be in Readiness; and that our Navy, which is the greatest Bulwark of this Kingdom, may be repaired, manned and fitted out for all Events, with the utmost Expedition.'

Geo. Snagg, Esq;
elected Speaker.

After the Chancellor had ended his Oration, the Queen adjourned the House of Lords to the sixth of *February*; to give Time to the Commons to choose their Speaker, which had been recommended to them by the Chancellor, at the End of his Speech. Accordingly, on that Day, the Commons presented to the Queen *George Snagg*, Serjeant at Law, for their Speaker, who, with the usual Ceremonies, was confirmed. The Lord Chancellor at the End of the Admission Speech, only, admonishing the Commons not to extend their Privileges to any unreverend and misbecoming Speeches, or unnecessary Accesses to her Majesty (r):

To

(r) This Lord Chancellor, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, is first mentioned in the Course of this History, as Captain of the Guard, and afterwards as Vice-Chamberlain. *Cambden* tells us, 'That of a Courtier, he was made Lord Chancellor, at which the great Lawyers took much Distaste: That he was advanced to it by the cunning Arts of those who, thinking him unable to execute the Office, hop'd by this Means to throw him out of the Queen's Favour: But he supported the Place with the greatest State and Splendor of any that ever went before him; and what he wanted in Knowledge of the Law, he labour'd to make good by Equity and Justice.'

To shew what Effect the Lord Chancellor's Speech had on this Parliament, the first Thing the House of Lords went upon, was to bring in a Bill concerning the Raising and Regulating of Officers and Soldiers; and the Commons about Raising a Supply. The former Bill pass'd the Lords, and went no further: But a Bill against the Embezzling of Armour, Habiliments of War and Victual, which was made Felony, became a Statute (s).

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The Commons took a long Time to consider of the Supply; for it was not till the 11th Day of March that the Bill was sent up to the Lords, which at first bears this lame Title in the Journals. *An Act for three Fifteenths and Tenths, and — entire Subsidies, granted by the Temporality.* Whether there is any Mistake in this Entry, or no, is uncertain; but, March the 14th, when the Bill was first read in the House of Lords, it was more significantly and pompously intituled, *An Act for the Granting of Four Fifteenths and Tenths and two entire Subsidies, to our most gracious Sovereign the Queen's most excellent Majesty.* And was passed under the same Title on the 17th. On the same Day a Bill was read for the Confirmation of a Supply granted by the Clergy, which consisted of two Subsidies of six Shillings in the Pound, to be paid, yearly, by two Shillings in the Pound.

A very large
Supply.

How this vast Supply was carried in the Commons, will appear in the Sequel; but it was a grievous Precedent, and, as Lord Coke observes, this Tax was the first that broke the Circle, and made Way for much greater than this afterwards (t). He adds, that in former Times, over and above the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage, the Commons never gave above one Subsidy and two Fifteenths, sometimes less; one Subsidy usually amounting to Seventy Thousand Pounds, and each Fifteenth, at Twenty nine Thousand Pounds, or thereabouts. The Clergy's Subsidies were computed

Lord Coke's Remarks thereon.

X 2

(s) Anno 31. Eliz. Cap. IV.

(t) COKE'S Instit. Part 4th. Pag 33.

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ted at Twenty Thousand, and they never exceeded one Subsidy till this Time.

It may be supposed that the great Joy the Nation was under, for being just then delivered from foreign Fetters, occasioned this unusual Supply. No doubt, they thought that, at another Time, they could reduce this exorbitant Tax, on the Subject, to its usual Stint. But the Event shewed the contrary; and, that let the Subjects give what they will to the Crown, the latter will always find Occasion to make it a Precedent for the same or a larger Demand. 'It is worthy of Observation, says Lord *Coke*, how quietly Subsidies, granted in usual and accustomed Forms, tho' heavy, were born; such a Power hath Use and Custom begot. On the other Side, what Discontents and Disturbances *Subsidies* framed in new Molds do raise; such an inbred Hatred Novelty doth hatch, as is evident by Examples of former Times (*u*).'

The same learned Lawyer, hath extracted from our Records, several Examples to this Purpose; which, as they were all prior to the Times we are now upon, may come, aptly, in this Place. Observing, that all, and more, of this Kind, may be met with in the Course of this History.

'In a Parliament, holden 9th *Edward III.* when a Motion was made for a Subsidy to be granted, of a new Kind, the Commons answered, they would have Conference with those of their Countries and Places who had put them in Trust, before they treated of any such Matter.'

'In the 4th of *Richard II.* a new Invention of *Subsidies* was started, called a Poll-Tax, on either Sex, for the Furnishing of the Earl of *Buckingham* on his going to *France*. Whereupon, a strong and strange Rebellion broke out; wherein three great and worthy Ministers of State, were by the Rascal Rebels barbarously and wickedly murdered; viz. *Simon Sudbury*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Chancellor of *England*, the Prior of *St. John's of Jeru-*

(*u*) *Coke's Instit.* Part 4. Pag. 33, 34.

Jerusalem, Treasurer of *England*, and Sir *John Cavendish*, Chief Justice of *England*. Queen Elizabeth.
1588-9.

‘ The 9th of *Henry VI.* every Knight’s Fee was charged to pay 20 s. and so according to the Value, under or over; as the Clergy were for Lands purchased since, 20th *Edward I.* And all others having Lands, of 20 l. Value, not holden as aforesaid, 20 s. This whole Subsidy, for certain Doubts, the King utterly released, so that there was no more Mention made of the same.’

‘ In the 4th of *Henry VII.* another such new-found *Subsidy* was granted; which raised a Rebellion in the North, in which the noble Earl of *Northumberland*, a Commissioner in that *Subsidy*, was, by the Rebels, causelessly and cruelly slain.’

‘ *Anno 16. Henry VIII.* to furnish the King for his going in his Royal Person to *France*, a new Device for getting of Money was set on Foot, which made the headless and heedless Multitude to rise in Rebellion, until *Charles Brandon*, the noble Duke of *Suffolk*, quieted and dispersed them.’

Sæpe Viatorem nova, non vetus Orbita fallit.

Thus far our learned Judge and Expofitor of the *English* Laws. And we heartily wish that these Examples would have deterred his Brethren from giving different Opinions to their King, in a Case of the same Nature, in a succeeding Reign.

In the *Journals* of the Commons, this Session, is much less to our Purpose than in many before. The Proceedings in that House, for several Days, being taken up with Regulating Elections, and Rectifying false Returns. It was not till *Feb. 17th*, when the Motion was made for a Supply to be granted to her Majesty. On that Day Sir *Edward Hobby*, a Member, complained to the House that several Particulars of a Speech, he had made on the Bill for Regulating Abuses amongst some Officers of the Exchequer, had been reported out of the House, for which he had been sharply rebuked by a very great Person. And praying that the said Bill might be again read and committed, he was in

Debate on a Bill
for Regulating
Abuses in the
Exchequer;

Queen Elizabeth.
1588-9.

some Sort interrupted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who said, 'That he offered not to speak to any Prejudice of the said Motion; but putting the House in Remembrance of their Charge, given unto him and others, for Conference to be had touching some convenient Supply of Treasure to be had and levied for the necessary Defence of her Majesty and this Realm, now presently in Danger of such mighty and great Enemies, as erst of late hath been at large delivered unto this House by some Members of the same, declared unto them, that he and the greater Part of the Residue of the Committees therein, though divers of them did not give that Attendance therein which so great and weighty a Cause doth require, have met and had Conference together about the same, four several Times; and, that at the last and fourth Time of their said Conference, they resolved upon such an extraordinary Proportion of Provision, as they thought, the present extraordinary Occasion of Necessity doth require, and that they did set the same down in Writing, which he also moved might be read unto them; to the End that if it might upon the Reading thereof, stand with their Good-liking to allow of it and give their Assents unto it, Mr. Speaker might then deliver it to her Majesty's learned Council, to have the same framed into the Form of a Bill to be proceeded in and past in this House; and shewed further, that as the Grant of this Contribution is greater than hath been heretofore for the most Part ordinarily used to be granted (the present Necessity so requiring it) so thinking good amongst them it should not hereafter be an Occasion of a Precedent to Posterity for the like (without like Cause) divers of them were of Opinion, that some meet Words to such an Effect might be inserted in the Preamble to the Bill. And shewed further, that one of the Committees, to wit, Mr *Francis Bacon*, had for that Purpose set down a Note in Writing, which, he said, (if it pleased them) they might also hear read, and afterwards (if they thought good) might also be delivered

livered to her Majesty's said learned Council likewise with the said other Note; and that withal the said Mr. *Bacon* might repair to her Majesty's said learned Council for the further Proceeding therein with them, if this House should so think good. Whereupon the House liking well of this Motion, both the said Notes in Writing were read by the Clerk, and afterwards agreed by the whole House, that the same Notes should be forthwith delivered by Mr. Speaker to her Majesty's said learned Council accordingly, and the said Mr. *Bacon* also to repair unto them.'

Queen Elisabeth.
1588-9.

After the Chancellor had ended, Sir *Henry Knyvet* stood up and entered upon the Complaint made by Sir *Edward Hobby*, and desired the House would take it into Consideration. He recited the Heads of Sir *Edward's* first Speech which gave the Offence, and, after commending the Motion, he urged the present Reading of the Bill. And, upon the Question, it was ordered to be read immediately, and afterwards committed.

This Bill, and another concerning Purveyors, And concerning gave great Offence at Court. We find that *Fe-* Purveyors; both
bruary 27th, a Message came from the Lords to de- which give Of-
fire a Conference with some of the Lower-House fence to the
concerning a Message they had just received from Queen.
her Majesty. On this, a large Committee were appointed, who, returning, made Report, 'That
' the Lord Treasurer had informed them the Mes-
' sage from her Majesty was concerning the Bills
' aforesaid, which she greatly disliked in both
' Cases. The one tending to regulate the Officers
' and Ministers of her own Household; and the
' other, those of her own Court and of her own
' Revenues. In both which, if any should de-
' mean themselves ill, her Majesty was of herself
' both able and willing to reform them. And
' would make public Examples, to other Officers,
' of those of her Household or Court who should
' at any Time be found to offend.'

Many Speeches and Motions were made upon this, what was best to be done to satisfy her Majesty

Queen Elizabeth.
1588-9.

Her Message
thereupon;

jeſty about their Proceedings in theſe Bills. At length, it was reſolved to chuſe another Committee to conſider of this Matter; and, alſo to ſearch Precedents that might beſt ſerve to that Purpoſe. And two Days after, it was reported to the Houſe, that the Committee thought the beſt Way was to reſent the Caſe, as it ſtood, to her Maſteſty by the Mouth of their Speaker. Accordingly, on *March* 8th, Mr. Speaker ſhewed unto the Houſe, ' That he and others of this Houſe, who were appointed to attend upon her Maſteſty, had Acceſs unto her Highneſs Yeſterday in the Afternoon; and that they received from her Maſteſty moſt comfortable and gracious Speeches in far better Sort and Meaſure than he was any Way able to repeat or open unto them, of her Highneſs's great and ineſtimable loving Care towards her loving Subjects, yea more than of her own ſelf, or than any of them have of themſelves. And as to the Parts of the preſent humble Petition of this Houſe unto her Highneſs, in the Grievances by the Purveyors and in the Court of Exchequer, it pleaſed her Maſteſty to tell them, That for the one, to wit, the Abuſes of Purveyors, her Highneſs of her own Princely Care towards her Subjects, had given Orders unto the late Lord Steward to addreſs his Letters unto all the Shires of this Realm, for the due Inquiry and Certificate of the Miſdemeanors of Purveyors in all Places, for ſome Courſes thereupon to be had for convenient Redreſs in the ſame: And that before any Order could well be taken for accompliſhing that good intended Effect, the *Spaniards* upon a ſudden attempted the Invaſion of this Realm; by reaſon whereof (her Maſteſty ſaid) the ſaid Purpoſe was not performed. And ſo ſhewing further, that her Maſteſty having as much Skill, Will and Power to rule and govern her own Houſhold, as any Subject to rule and govern theirs without the Help or Aid of their Neighbours; ſo her Maſteſty mind- ing very carefully of her own mere great Love and Affection towards her dutiful and loving Sub-
jects

jects (whole most faithful and approved good Love and Fidelity towards her, she more esteemeth than all the Treasures of the World besides) very shortly to cause a Collection to be made of all the Laws already in Force touching Purveyors, and also all the Constitutions of her Highness's Household in that Case, and thereupon by the Advice of her Judges and her learned Council, to set down such a Form and Plot for the said Redresses, yea, and that before the End of this present Session, as shall be as good and better for the Ease of the Subjects, than that which this House had attempted without her Privy, and in which they would have bereaved her Majesty of the Honour, Glory and Commendation of the same. And touching the Exchequer she said, it was her Chamber, and so more near unto her than the Household: And that in the tenth Year of her Reign, her Majesty had caused certain Orders and Constitutions to be set down, for the due and fit Course of such Things in the said Court, as her Subjects seem to be grieved for.'

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1588-9.

On which these two Bills were drop'd, for that Time; but, as it seems, they were soon after revived, by the Queen's Allowance, and passed into Laws this Parliament.

Which occasions
their being then
drop'd.

Few Sessions were ended in this Reign without some Strokes at the Established Church, or the Ministers of it. And in this Mr. *Davenport* stood up and made a Motion, 'That he was neither for making of anynew Laws, nor abrogating any old, but for a due Course of Proceeding in Laws already established. These, he thought, were ill executed by some Ecclesiastical Governors; contrary both to the Purport of the said Laws, and also, to the Minds and Meanings of the Law-makers, to the great Hurt and Grievance of sundry of her Majesty's good Subjects.' He then offered a Writing to the House, containing some Particulars to prove his Assertion, and prayed that it might be read.

Motions for further Reformation of the Clergy.

In Answer to this Motion, Mr. Secretary *Wolley*, begg'd Leave to put the House in Mind of her

Queen Elizabeth.
1588-9.

her Majesty's exprefs Inhibition, delivered to them by the Mouth of the Lord Chancellor, at the Beginning of this Session, touching any Dealing in Ecclesiastical Causes. And said, that, for his Part, if they meddled in the last moved Affair, contrary to the Inhibition, the House would shew a high Contempt of her Majesty's Commands. Whereupon, though the Writing was received, it was not read at all, but some Time after delivered back to Mr. *Davenport* by the Speaker.

A Bill for Reforming the many Inconveniences, from the great Number of Pluralities and Non-Residents on Church Livings, passed the Commons; but was thrown out by the Lords.

Debate on the
Supply.

These Altercations put the Commons into Divisions about granting the Supply. It was not till *February* 28th that the Bill for it was again considered; and several Speeches being made for having it speedily ingross'd, it was opposed by others, who argued * That it was better to proceed with other Bills, as necessary for the Common-Wealth, which ought to be treated on and expedited before the Subsidy Bill: Because, it was their Opinions when that Bill was once passed this House, there would soon be an End of this Session of Parliament. On which, the Question being put, it was carried for the Ingrossment of the Bill, though we are not told by what Majority. After this, it met with no more Opposition, but was passed and sent up to the Lords, on the 11th of *March*.

We are obliged to Mr. *Strype* however, for retrieving us one of the Speeches, made in the House of Commons, against this large Supply. This was also amongst the *Burleighian* Manuscripts; but the Reader will easily acquit the Lord Treasurer of *England* of having any Hand in this Speech, whatever he might have in that of Serjeant *Puckering's*.^(u) The Account of the then present State of *England* and of *Spain*, which will be found here, must atone for the Length of it; the Orator's Name is not mentioned.

A Speech

(u) See before pag. 272.

A Speech in Parliament Anno 31 Reginae, against a Bill of Subsidy to be granted for four Years, in Order to a Preparation against any Assault from Spain. *Queen Elizabeth. 1588-9.*

‘ **W**HEREAS I am, though unworthy, a A Speech against it.
 ‘ Member of this House, and zealously
 ‘ desirous to conjoin myself by Consent in all good
 ‘ Proceedings with the Body thereof; I have hither-
 ‘ to in this great Matter of the Subsidy received so
 ‘ small Satisfaction for the Direction of my Judg-
 ‘ ment, that unless I should manifestly dissent from
 ‘ mine own Conscience, which neither this Place
 ‘ requireth, nor Christianity alloweth, I cannot
 ‘ consent with the Bill therein, which may seem
 ‘ to have had so general and current a Consent, as
 ‘ it might seem superfluous to offer to speak to it;
 ‘ and especially at this Time, after the Engrossing
 ‘ thereof, after the Resolution thereon by a great,
 ‘ grave and wise Committee, I may be deemed
 ‘ presumptuous, but to speak against this Bill;
 ‘ whereby the Service of her Majesty and the
 ‘ whole Realm may be supposed to be hindered; it
 ‘ may be thought impious; it may be thought dan-
 ‘ gerous. The Consent of the greatest Part of this
 ‘ House, as I take it, concludeth all the rest at the
 ‘ Question, but excludeth none in the Arguing.

‘ This Time, I confess, to be somewhat unfea-
 ‘ sonably chosen, but yet now is the Time to speak,
 ‘ or else hereafter for ever to be silent. And there-
 ‘ in I do somewhat rely upon the Authority of an
 ‘ honourable Personage, who, at the Putting of
 ‘ this Bill to Engrossing, affirmed it, in his Expe-
 ‘ rience, not to be unusual to have a Bill argued
 ‘ upon, between the third Reading and the Que-
 ‘ stion, two or three Days.

‘ As for the Service of her Majesty and my
 ‘ Country, unto which two I owe all Subjection
 ‘ and Duty, I am so far from withdrawing either
 ‘ myself or others therefrom, that my Speech shall
 ‘ have none other End, than the Advancement
 ‘ thereof;

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‘ thereof; neither, as I hope, shall in that Behalf
‘ need any other Apology, than itself.

‘ My Meaning is not to dispute, whether it be
‘ lawful to grant a Subsidy, or no. For then our
‘ Saviour Christ himself would stop my Mouth,
‘ with his Answer to the captious Questionists in
‘ the 20th of *Matthew*. For sure, the very Im-
‘ pression and Supercription of our Money puts us
‘ in Mind to whom it doth appertain. Neither
‘ will I argue whether it be necessary to grant a
‘ Subsidy, or not. But therein content myself
‘ with the Example of our Saviour, who in the
‘ 17th of *Matthew*, paid his twentieth Penny out
‘ of his Fish’s Mouth for himself and *Peter*. Nor
‘ yet, whether it be convenient to contribute to-
‘ ward the necessary Exigences of our lawful Prin-
‘ ces. For St. *Paul* teacheth me in the 13th to
‘ the *Romans*, that Tribute appertaineth unto them
‘ of Duty, as unto Governors sent by God, for
‘ the well ordering and guiding of his People.

‘ But the Question, wherein I endeavour to be
‘ resolved, is, whether it be necessary or conve-
‘ nient for us at this Time to tender unto her Ma-
‘ jesty such a Subsidy, and in such Manner and
‘ Form, as hath been by divers heretofore moved,
‘ as the Purport of this Bill offereth unto us.
‘ That is in brief, a double Subsidy to be paid in
‘ four Years.

‘ And First, for the *Necessity* thereof, I cannot
‘ deny, but if it were a Charge imposed upon us
‘ by her Majesty’s Commandment, or a Demand
‘ proceeding from her Majesty by Way of Request,
‘ that I think, there is not one among us all, either
‘ so disobedient a Subject in regard of our Duty, or
‘ so unthankful a Man in respect of the inestimable
‘ Benefits which by her, and from her, we have
‘ received, which would not with frank Consent,
‘ both of Voice and Heart, most willingly submit
‘ himself thereunto, without any unreverent En-
‘ quiry into the Causes thereof. For it is conti-
‘ nually in the Mouth of us all, that our Lands,
‘ Goods, and Lives, are at our Prince’s Disposing.

‘ And

‘ And it agreeth very well with that Position of Queen Elizabeth.
 ‘ the Civil Law, which saith, *Quod omnia Regis* 1588 9.
 ‘ *sunt*. But how? *Ita tamen, ut omnium sint. Ad*
 ‘ *Regem enim Potestas omnium pertinet; ad singulos*
 ‘ *Proprietas*. So that although it be most true,
 ‘ that her Majesty hath, over ourselves and
 ‘ our Goods, *Potestatem imperandi*, yet it is as
 ‘ true, that until that Power command, (which,
 ‘ no doubt, will not command without very just
 ‘ Cause) every Subject hath his own *Proprietatem*
 ‘ *possidendi*. Which Power and Commandment
 ‘ from her Majesty, as we have not yet re-
 ‘ ceived, I take it (saving Reformation) that we
 ‘ are freed from the Cause of *Necessity*.

‘ Another Cause of *Necessity*, is the dangerous
 ‘ Estate of our Common-Wealth in respect of *In-*
 ‘ *vasion* by our common and mighty Enemies.
 ‘ Which Reason, because in my Hearing it hath
 ‘ been the principal, and almost only Persuader of
 ‘ the Bill, requireth a more sufficient and exquisite
 ‘ Answer, than perhaps I shall make unto it. I
 ‘ have before acknowledged it to be a necessary
 ‘ Answer, to move all to unwonted and extraordi-
 ‘ nary Contribution. And I must herein needs
 ‘ subscribe to a wise and learned Man of our Age,
 ‘ who saith, that they be *pia, quæ cum Civibus*
 ‘ *imperantur Tributa, sine quibus Civitas ipsa fun-*
 ‘ *ditus sit interitura*. But as I do assuredly hope,
 ‘ that our Country is at this present in no such des-
 ‘ perate and dangerous Case; the very Teeth and
 ‘ Jaws of our mightiest and most malicious Ene-
 ‘ my have been so lately broken, and the Sword
 ‘ of his greatest Confederate more lately sheathed
 ‘ in his own Bosom. Beside the Hope which
 ‘ may justly be conceived of the Expedition now
 ‘ setting forward (v), for the Defeating all their
 ‘ Plots, and Disappointing all their Devices: As,
 ‘ I say, I do assuredly hope, that our Country for
 ‘ these Reasons, is in no such great Danger, as it
 ‘ is pretended, so may I constantly affirm, that
 ‘ al-

(v) Of Invading some Parts of *Spain* by Sir Francis Drake, and
 other *English*.

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‘ although by Way of Concession, I should grant
‘ it to be so, yet the Subsidy, required by this
‘ Bill to be granted, could give little or no Re-
‘ lief thereunto. For as a Pardon comes unpro-
‘ fitably to the Offender after his Execution, or
‘ a Potion to a Patient after his Death, or Reco-
‘ very to Health; so if the Stroke of God’s E-
‘ nemy and ours be likely to light upon us, ei-
‘ ther this Year, as it hath been here affirmed;
‘ so the next, as it is in my small Judgment
‘ more likely, I doubt not, but you will all con-
‘ sent with me, that a Subsidy, the first Part
‘ whereof is not to be paid till the End of three
‘ Years, (for unto that only my Speech hath Rela-
‘ tion) can serve neither for Pay, nor Provision, in
‘ Defence thereof.

Utilis est Medicina suo quæ Tempore venit,

‘ saith the Poet. And, *Sapientia sera*, is said to
‘ be *Proxima Stultitiæ*.

‘ And thus having briefly set down mine Opi-
‘ nion against the Necessity of this Grant, I will
‘ by your favourable Patience, with like Brevity
‘ declare such *Inconveniences*, as I have conceived
‘ may ensue thereby. It is not unknown to you
‘ all, but most sensibly felt through the whole
‘ Realm, what Charge and Expences the Com-
‘ mons thereof were this last Summer driven unto
‘ by Preparation and Provision of Arms, Horses,
‘ Apparel, and other Necessaries, for their just
‘ and natural Defence against the intended In-
‘ vasion: You know, that since that Time a
‘ Payment of the Subsidy, last granted, hath been
‘ made unto her Majesty. There is none of us
‘ ignorant what Number of Privy-Seals are even
‘ now dispersed through the whole Realm, to
‘ the Emptying Men’s Coffers, and Impairing of
‘ their Stocks: With what Readiness, Duty and
‘ Good-Will, these Things have been, and shall
‘ be performed by the Subjects, no Man here may
‘ doubt. Now then to bring a new and unacul-
‘ tomed Continuation of Payments, one to role
‘ in

‘ in the Neck of another, *sicut Unda superierit Undam*, I know not, by what Warrant of Reason or Conscience, we may do it: Especially, considering, that it is not a Matter necessarily imposed upon us, as I said before, but voluntarily to be offered by us. Surely, one speaketh very plainly, and saith, *Asini est Clitellam ferre libenter*. But I will, as it becomes me, use more Reverence in this honourable Place; and say, that I think it not convenient, that we should lay Burdens on our own Shoulders, or put Shackles on our own Feet.

Queen Elizabeth.
1588-9.

‘ But it is still urged, that the Service of her Majesty, and Safeguard of our own selves, is provided for hereby; surely, by your honourable Patience, I will attempt to prove, that by this Grant her Majesty’s Service shall be rather hindered than forwarded; and ourselves rather endangered than secured. It was very gravely and wisely delivered unto us in her Majesty’s Presence, at the Beginning of this Parliament, by my Lord Chancellor, *Quod tutius Fide, quam Ferro regnant Reges*. And surely, if *Auro* were put in the Place of *Ferro*, the Sentence were notwithstanding nevertheless true. For it is not the Abundance of Treasure, nor the Multitude of Possessions, neither the infinite Number of Men, which maintain and establish a King in his Throne, but the Faith, Love, Loyalty and Contentment of his People and Subjects, which as her Majesty hath hitherto, from her first Auguration, most deservedly had; and that as fully and amply, as ever had any Prince in *Europe*: So were it greatly to be lamented, that now through our Debates, any such Discontent should be bred in the Minds and Hearts of her People; whereby their accustomed Affections towards her might receive the least Diminution. And surely, whosoever they be, that by new and strange Exactions on the People, shall go about to fill up the Prince’s Coffers, may perhaps please the Prince, by serving his Turn for the Time, but shall in
‘ the

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‘ the End be found to have done him, but bad Service. The Answer of the Emperor *Tiberius* unto his *Questors*, or Treasurers; which persuaded him for the Repairing of the Treasury, to load the Provinces with Tribute, is worthy eternal Memory; which was, that it was *Boni Pastoris tondere Oves, non autem deglubere*. And the Practice of the Romans, while *Hannibal* besieged their City, is of all Nations worthy to be imitated. For being hardly prest by the Siege, and their common Treasure quite exhausted, the Senate took Counsel together for the Redress of these Mischiefs: Some of them persuading, like *Tiberius*’s Treasurers, that the People were to be charged with a Subsidy or Imposition. But the greater and wiser Sort (whose Authority also prevailed) would by no Means assent thereunto; thinking it, (especially in that Time of Extremity) most inconvenient by new Taxes and Impositions, to discontent the People, in whom the Strength and Defence of their City consisted. And what did they? Why, they decreed that a Contribution should be made by Way of a Benevolence. And they themselves would first go unto the *Triumviros Mensarios*, which were Officers appointed for that Receipt; and there bestow so liberally of their own, that the inferior People should by their Example be incited to a large and bountiful Contribution. But what followed? The People, as the Story saith, came in so fast, and the Money in such Abundance, *Ut nec Triumviri Mensarii accipiendo, nec Scribae referendo, sufficerent*. It is written by *Livy* in the 26th Book, and needeth no Application. Only this I would wish to be considered, whether if we should by Extremity be put to the like Shift for a Benevolence, before the Payment of this latter Subsidy, the Grant of this would not do greater Hurt to that Contribution, than itself could do good, when it shall be paid.

‘ I could with Enumeration and Amplification of the Inconveniences, which may grow by this double

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1588-9:

‘ double Subsidy detain you longer than either it is
‘ fit for me to speak, or pleasing for you to hear.
‘ But I will hasten to an End. It may be object-
‘ ed, That this Subsidy cannot be an Occasion of
‘ any such Grievance or Discontent, as is spoken
‘ of; or if it were, that the Sharpness thereof
‘ is well allayed and tempered by the prolonging of
‘ the Payment. Surely, it may be, that all, or
‘ the most Part of this honourable House, who,
‘ both in respect of their Ability, may, and by
‘ reason of their liberal Education and great Wis-
‘ dom will, submit themselves unto it: It is a
‘ light and easy Burthen, and accounted but for
‘ a Flea-Biting. But unto the People, and needy
‘ Countrymen, to the Artificer, whose Treasure is
‘ always in his Hand, (for whom we do sit here
‘ more principally than for ourselves) under Cor-
‘ rection, it cannot be accounted but for a Punish-
‘ ment.

‘ Samuel, in the Oration which he made unto
‘ the *Israelites*, when they would needs have a
‘ King, among other Burthens, which he told them
‘ they should bear under that Kind of Govern-
‘ ment, accounteth the Payment of the Tenth of
‘ their Seed, their Vineyards, and their Sheep.
‘ Which may prove, that then it was reckoned for
‘ a Pain. And the Suits, Exclamations, Com-
‘ plaints, and Lamentations, of the Commons of
‘ this Realm, well known to the most Part of this
‘ House, which they make either at the Assessing,
‘ or Collection of these Subsidies, or both, doth
‘ sufficiently testify unto us, that they account it
‘ now a Punishment. And as for the prolonging
‘ of the Payment, I am so far from thinking that
‘ it is any Mitigation of the Punishment, that I
‘ am rather perswaded, that it is encreased thereby.
‘ As it is well said of *Seneca*, in the bestowing of
‘ Benefits, *Quod bis dat, qui cito dat*; so it is as
‘ truly spoken of another, in the inflicting of Pu-
‘ nishments, *Dilatio pœnæ est Duplicatio pœnæ*;
‘ and of another, That the irrevocable Sentence of
‘ Death being once pronounced, it is *Misericordiæ*

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‘ *genus cito occidere*. Neither have I heard any great Reason why the Pains of Hell are intolerable, but because they are perpetual: For *Malorum sensus accrescit die*: And, *Leve est miseria ferre, perferre grave*.

‘ Seeing then that it is apparent, that this Imposition, how much the greater it shall be, by so much the more grievous it will be to the mean, ignorant, and untaught Commons of this Land; who bend all their Thoughts and Actions to the procuring and maintaining of their private Commodity; and seeing, that their long Meditation thereon will encrease and double this their Grief and Punishment, and that no Man, how well-natured or nurtered soever he be, can well content himself with Pain and Grief; I hope you see as clearly as you hear, that the Subsidy required by this Bill to be granted, must, after, breed a Discontent in the Minds and Hearts of her Majesty’s People. Of which their Discontentment, what might ensue and follow, I would be very loth to divine. What if a Dearth of Victuals? What if Restraint of Traffic, by Means of Wars? What if thereby Occasion should be given to seditious and traiterous Whisperers, to augment and encrease it?

‘ Sure I am, that hereof could follow no good Service to her Majesty; no great Safety to ourselves; no Benefit to the Commonwealth. But we should then all, too late, cry, *Woe be to them that brought the first Spark to the Kindling of this Fire*. And it hath often been proved heretofore, by Experience, that Money, this Way obtained from the People, hath been spent in greater Measure in the pacifying them of whom it was collected.

‘ The Precedent, besides, may be dangerous, both to ourselves and our Posterity. For we commonly see, that in all Counsels and Deliberations, a Precedent is a forceable and standing Argument. And it was a wise and true Saying, that *Diuturnitas temporis efficere potest, ut quod*
‘ *per-*

‘ *perniciore more et exemplo convaleuit, potentius ipsa*
 ‘ *Lege dominetur.* And altho’ I have before gran- Queen Elizabeth
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 ‘ ted you, by Way of Concession, that her Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Will and Commandment is a necessary
 ‘ Argument, to persuade us to the Passing of this
 ‘ Bill ; yet, lest it may be thought of more abso-
 ‘ lute Necessity, than perhaps it is requisite it should
 ‘ be ; I will set down a Precedent or two, which
 ‘ in the like Cases, have, in this House, been
 ‘ determined heretofore.

‘ In the 39. *Hen. 3.* a Parliament was summon-
 ‘ ed ; wherein was required an extraordinary Re-
 ‘ paration of the King’s Treasury, by a Subsidy.
 ‘ The Commons, because this Demand was great-
 ‘ er than usually had been paid, would grant no
 ‘ Subsidy at all (a).

‘ Thus I have presumed to deliver my Opinion,
 ‘ hoping that if any thing have escaped me, worthy
 ‘ Reprehension, through Ignorance, it shall be ex-
 ‘ cused by reason of mine Infancy in this Practice
 ‘ of Speaking : If any Part of my Speech may re-
 ‘ ceive a double Construction, it may be defended
 ‘ by your best Interpretation.

The Grant of a Supply being obtained and pas-
 sed both Houses, this Parliament, soon after, drew
 to a Conclusion, without any other Thing, of
 Consequence to this History, being transacted in it.
 Except that, on the last Day of the Sessions,
March 29th, a Message was brought from the
 Lords, that their Lordships desired the Lower
 House to concur with them in Opinion, ‘ That
 since most of all those Treasons, which had been
 practised against her Majesty, had either been plotted
 in *Spain*, or procured by *Spain* ; and that all the
 Rebellions, either in *England* or *Ireland*, during
 her Majesty’s Reign, had been countenanced from
 thence ; and, as the Upshot of all, his late in-
 tended ambitious and blood-thirsty Conquest, yet
 fresh in Memory, might be added : Her Majesty
 ought to be desired to denounce open War against

Y 2

the

(a) This goes no further, tho’ it seems to want something.

Queen Elizabeth.
1588-9.

Both Houses de-
fire the Queen
to declare War
against Spain.

The Parliament
dissolved.

The Queen's
great Expences.

the King of *Spain*, as against a most dangerous Enemy to her Majesty and her Realms.'

On which Message it was resolved, upon the Question, 'That this House would join with their Lordships in requesting her Majesty to denounce War as aforesaid; and that the Speaker should deliver the same to her on presenting the Supply.' And, that very Day, her Majesty being come to the Upper House, the Speaker went up with the Bills, and, in his Speech, moved the Queen to denounce open War against the *Spanish* King, who had so lately threatned Destruction to her Majesty and these Realms by his open and hostile Invasion.

Then, after giving the Royal Assent to the Bills, being sixteen publick Acts and eight private, Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Knt. Lord Chancellor, by the Queen's Command, dissolved this Parliament.

Tho' Mr *Cambden* takes no Manner of Notice of the Calling or Meeting of the last Parliament, yet he hath left us some Account how the Money was laid out, which was raised thereby. 'Tho', says he, the Queen always paid the first Regard to Peace, yet she was not unconcerned about the necessary Provisions for War (*b*). And, that she might not be surprized by the *Spaniards*, she levied fresh Forces, in the Beginning of the Spring, both in *England* and *Ireland*. She fortified several Places in the latter Kingdom, and *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*, with new Ramparts. Towards the Repair of her Navy, she appointed the annual Sum of 8970 Pounds Sterling. She lent very large Sums, on Securities, to support the War, under the King of *Navarr*, in *Germany*; as well as for levying Forces to be under the Command of the Prince of *Anhalt*. Besides all this, she paid, every two Months, to the Garrisons of the two cautionary Towns, *Flushing* and *Brill*, 125,000 *Florins*; besides 26,000 more for supporting a Body of three thousand Horse and Foot, which served in the *Netherlands*. Moreover, she furnished out Ships of War

(*b*) Kennet, Vol. II. p. 558.

War to several Parts ; and was at vast Expence in opposing the Attempts of the *Pope* and the King of *Spain*, in *Scotland* ; and discharged all the Arrears she owed her Subjects, beyond Expectation. Infomuch, that many wondered whence she procured so much Money, to answer all Emergencies ; considering she ran not in Debt, as most other Princes do, and was in a Capacity to support herself and Kingdom without any Foreign Assistance. A Thing that could not be said of any of the neighbouring Princes.

Queen Elizabeth.
1588-9.

In her private Expences, our Author writes, she was provident and frugal, never spending any thing, but to keep up her Royal Character, the Defence of the Kingdom, and the Relief of her Neighbours. The Revenues of the Customs had been farmed, for some Years, at 14,000*l.* a Year ; but, being informed of the Fraud, she first raised them to 42,000, and afterwards to 50,000*l.* and made the Person, who had had so good a Bargain, pay a considerable Sum besides. This she did, contrary to the Advice of her three Prime Ministers, *Leicester*, *Walsingham*, and *Burleigh* ; who, without Doubt, had been no small Sharers in it.

Our Biographer declares, ' That his Queen ever abhorred all Acts of Extortion and vigorous Demands of Taxes and Contributions.'—Whether she or her Ministry demanded it, is uncertain ; but, 'tis sure there never was so much given in any Reign before. He adds, ' That the Laying a *Poll-Tax*, which had been proposed in the Reign of *Edward VI.* she would never suffer to be so much as mentioned. Besides, the People were always cheerful in paying their Subsidies ; and, tho' the Assessments, then in Use, seemed to be somewhat more burdensome than in former Times, yet, was it managed with all the Candour imaginable, and no rigorous Exactions made. Infomuch, that Taxes were then a Kind of free Contributions, and always laid beneath the Estimation of the Government ; nay, the Queen's Method was to refer it to her Parliament, so to order that the Rich might

Queen Elizabeth.
1592-3.

bear the greater share of the Burden, and the Poor be eased ; which had been done as early as the Time of *Richard* the Second. But this Method was found to be wrong ; for upon a fair Computation, it appeared, that the Taxes would amount to an inconsiderable Sum, should Men of smaller Estates, by far the greater Number, and such as were called *Pound-Men*, (b) pay any thing short of what they used to do.

This Digression, it is hoped, will not be judged inconsistent with the Design of these Inquiries ; since we are here told, in some Measure, not only how Taxes, in these Days, were levied ; but likewise how they were laid out.—But whether our Biographer's Systems will agree with the more authentic Extracts from the *Journals*, must be left to the Reader's Judgment.

Anno Regni 35,
1592-3.
At Westminster.

We have now a Gap of Time, of near four Years, and nothing material to fill it up with. For, It was not till the Year 1592-3, that we meet with a Call of another Parliament ; when, the Necessities of the State again requiring a Supply, Writs of Summons were sent out for one to meet, at *Westminster*, the 19th Day of *February*, in the 35th Year of this Reign.

The Lord Keeper Puckering's Speech at Opening the Session.

At which Time and Place the Queen came to the House of Lords, and, the Commons being called up, Sir *John Puckering*, Kt. then Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal, declared the Cause of the Summons, to this Effect ; (c)

‘ He shewed, in the first Place, the Antiquity, Nature, and Use of Parliaments. Then he set forth as the principal Matter, (which her Majesty did desire to have made known and manifest to all her loving Subjects) the great Malice of the King of *Spain*, which he had towards this Realm,
Y 3 ‘ and

(b) Probably Land-holders of Twenty Shillings, *per Annum*.

(c) The Heads or Instructions for this Speech, in several Articles, were drawn up by the Lord Treasurer *Burgbley* ; and are published from his MSS. by Mr *Strype*. *Annals*, Vol. ult. N^o. LXXX, Pag. 124.

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1592-3.

‘ and this he shewed, by sundry Instances; as the
‘ last intended Invasion, his Forces then address’d
‘ out of the *Low-Countries* for that Purpose, to
‘ have been conducted by the Duke of *Parma*, &c.
‘ And then he proceeded in the rest of his Oration,
‘ to the Purpose following:

‘ **THE** high and mighty Ships that then he
‘ prepared and sent for that Purpose, because
‘ he found them not fit for our Seas and such an
‘ Attempt, he is building Ships of a less Bulk, after
‘ another Fashion; some like *French* Ships, some
‘ like the Shipping of *England*; and many hath
‘ he gotten out of the *Low-Countries*. He is now,
‘ for the better Invading of *England*, Planting
‘ him in *Britany*, a Country of more Facility to
‘ offend us than the *Low-Countries*; there he
‘ hath fortified himself in the most Strong-Holds
‘ of that Country.

‘ In *Scotland* he hath, of late, wrought most of
‘ the Nobility to conspire against their King; to
‘ give Landing to his Forces there; and to assist
‘ him in his Invasion thither. A greater Part of
‘ the Nobility in *Scotland* be combined in this
‘ Conspiracy, and they have received great Sums
‘ of Money for their Service therein. And to as-
‘ sure the King of *Spain* of their Assistance, they
‘ have signed and sent their Promises, sealed, to
‘ the King.

‘ This Conspiracy the King of *Scots* was hardly
‘ brought to believe, but that her Majesty adver-
‘ tised him thereof, having entertained Intelligence
‘ thereof, as she hath of all Things done and in-
‘ tended in those Parts. And that the King might
‘ better advise thereupon, her Majesty hath sent
‘ one of her Noblemen now into *Scotland*; and
‘ the King hath assur’d her Majesty, with all his
‘ Ability and Endeavour, to prevent the *Spaniard*,
‘ whose Purpose is on the North Parts to assault us
‘ by Land, and, on the South Side, to invade us
‘ by Sea; which is the most dangerous Practise that
‘ could be devised against us. And now the Rage
‘ of this Enemy being such, his Forces join’d with
‘ other

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1592-3

other Princes, his Adherents, greater; the Charge of her Majesty, for Defence of her Realm, both with Forces by Sea, and Armies by Land hath been such, as hath both spent the Contribution of her Subjects, by Subsidies, and what otherwise they offered her; and also consumed her Treasure; yea, caused her to sell Part of her Highness's Crown. And, it is not to be marvelled how all this is consumed, but rather to be thought how her Majesty could be able to maintain and defend this her Realm, against so many Realms conspired against us.

Wherefore, we, her Majesty's Subjects, must, with all dutiful Consideration, think what is fit for us to do; and, with all Willingness, yield Part of our own, for the Defence of others, and Assistance of her Majesty, in such an insupportable Charge. Were the Cause between Friend and Friend, how much would we do for the Relief of one another? But the Cause is now between our Sovereign and ourselves: Seeing there is so much Difference in the Parties, how much more forward ought we to be? The Aid that formerly hath been granted unto her Majesty in these like Cases, is with such Slackness perform'd, as that the Third of what hath been granted, cometh not to her Majesty. A great Shew, a rich Grant, and a long Sum, seemeth to be made, but it is hard to be gotten, and the Sum not great which is paid. Her Majesty thinketh this to be, for that the wealthier Sort of Men turn this Charge upon the weaker, and and upon those of worst Ability; for that one dischargeth himself, and the other is not able to satisfy what he is charged withal.

These Things should be reformed by such as are Commissioners in this present Service.

Her Majesty further hath willed me to signify unto you, that the Calling of this Parliament now, is not for the making of any more new Laws and Statutes, for there are already a sufficient Number both of Ecclesiastical and Temporal;
and

‘ and so many there be, that rather than to bur- Queen Elizabeth.
 ‘ then the Subjects with more, to their Grievance; 1592-3.
 ‘ it were fitting an Abridgment were made of those
 ‘ there are already.

‘ Wherefore it is her Majesty’s Pleasure, that
 ‘ the Time be not spent therein: But, the princi-
 ‘ pal Cause of this Parliament is, that her Majesty
 ‘ might consult with her Subjects for the better
 ‘ withstanding of those intended Invasions, which
 ‘ are now greater than were ever heretofore heard
 ‘ of. And whereas heretofore it hath been used,
 ‘ that many have delighted themselves in long O-
 ‘ rations, full of Verbosity and of vain Osten-
 ‘ tations, more than in speaking Things of Sub-
 ‘ stance; the Time that is precious should not be
 ‘ thus spent. The Sessions cannot be long, by
 ‘ reason of the Spring-Time, ’tis fit that Gentle-
 ‘ men should repair to their Countries; the Ju-
 ‘ stices of Assize also to go to their Circuits. So
 ‘ the good Hours should not be lost in idle Speeches,
 ‘ but the little Time we have should be bestowed
 ‘ wholly on such Businesses as are needful to be
 ‘ considered of.’ And then desir’d them to elect a
 Speaker.

Feb. 22. The Queen being come again to the
 Upper House, the Commons presented the famous Edw. Coke, Esq;
Edward Coke, Esq; Solicitor-General, as their chosen Speaker.
 Speaker; who, being placed at the Bar of the House,
 delivered himself as follows:

‘ **Y**OUR Majesty’s most loving Subjects, the His Speech to the
 ‘ Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees, of the Queen there-
 ‘ House of Commons, have nominated me, your upon.
 ‘ Grace’s poor Servant and Subject, to be their
 ‘ Speaker. Tho’ their Nomination hath hitherto
 ‘ proceeded, that they present me to speak before
 ‘ your Majesty: Yet this their Nomination is,
 ‘ only as yet, a Nomination and no Election, un-
 ‘ til your Majesty giveth Allowance and Appro-
 ‘ bation. For, as in the Heavens, a Star is but *opa-*
 ‘ *cum Corpus*, until it have received Light from the
 ‘ Sun; so stand I *Corpus opacum*, a mute Body,
 ‘ until

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Queen Elizabeth.
1592-3.

‘ until your Highness’s bright-shining Wisdom
‘ hath looked upon me, and allowed me. How
‘ great a Charge this is, to be the Mouth of such a
‘ Body as your whole Commons represent, to ut-
‘ ter what is spoken, *Grandia Regni*, my small
‘ Experience, being a poor Professor of the Law,
‘ can tell. But, how unable I am to do this Of-
‘ fice, my present Speech doth tell, that, of a
‘ Number in this House, I am most unfit. For,
‘ amongst them are many grave, many learned,
‘ many deep wise Men, and those of ripe Judg-
‘ ments: But I am untimely Fruit, not yet ripe,
‘ but a Bud scarcely blossomed. So, as I fear me,
‘ your Majesty will say, *Neglectâ frugi eliguntur*
‘ *folia*: Amongst so many fair Fruit ye have
‘ plucked a shaking Leaf.

‘ If I may be so bold as to remember a Speech,
‘ (which I cannot forget) used the last Parliament,
‘ in your Majesty’s own Mouth, Many come
‘ hither *ad consulendum qui nesciunt quid sit consu-*
‘ *lendum*; a just Reprehension to many as to
‘ myself also, an untimely Fruit, my Years and
‘ Judgment ill befitting the Gravity of this Place.
‘ But, howsoever, I know myself the meanest, and
‘ inferior unto all that ever were before me in this
‘ Place; yet, in Faithfulness of Service, and Dutiful-
‘ ness of Love, I think not myself inferior to
‘ any that ever were before me. And, amidst my
‘ many Imperfections, yet this is my Comfort;
‘ I never knew any in this Place, but if your Ma-
‘ jesty gave them Favour, God, who called them
‘ to the Place, gave them also the Blessing to dis-
‘ charge it.’

The Lord Keeper having received Instructions
from the Queen, answered him:

Mr Solicitor,

The Lord Keeper’s
Answer.

‘ **H**ER Grace’s Most Excellent Majesty hath
‘ willed me to signify unto you, that
‘ she hath ever well conceived of you since she
‘ first heard of you, which will appear, when her
‘ Highness elected you from others to serve herself.
‘ But

‘ But, by this your modest, wife, and well-com-
 ‘ posed Speech, you give her Majesty further Oc-
 ‘ casion to conceive of you, above that which ever
 ‘ she thought was in you ; by endeavouring to de-
 ‘ ject and abase yourself and your Desert, you have
 ‘ discovered and made known your Worthiness
 ‘ and Sufficiency to discharge the Place you are
 ‘ called to. And, whereas you account yourself
 ‘ *Corpus opacum*, her Majesty, by the Influence
 ‘ of her Virtue and Wisdom, doth enlighten you ;
 ‘ and not only alloweth and approveth you, but
 ‘ much thanketh the lower House, and commen-
 ‘ deth their Discretion in making so good a Choice,
 ‘ and electing so fit a Man. Wherefore now,
 ‘ Mr Speaker, proceed in your Office, and go
 ‘ forward, to your Commendation, as you have
 ‘ begun.’

Queen Elizabeth
 1592-3.

The Lord Keeper’s Speech being ended, the
 Speaker began a new Speech.

‘ COnsidering the great and wonderful Bles-
 ‘ sings, besides the long Peace we have en-
 ‘ joy’d under your Grace’s most happy and vic-
 ‘ torious Reign, and remembring with what Wis-
 ‘ dom and Justice your Grace hath reigned over
 ‘ us, we have Cause daily to praise God that e-
 ‘ ver you were given us ; and the Hazard that
 ‘ your Majesty hath adventured, and the Charge
 ‘ that you have born for us and our Safety, ought
 ‘ to make us ready to lay down ourselves and all
 ‘ our Living, at your Feet, to do you Service.

The Speaker’s
 Reply.

‘ After this he related the great Attempts of her
 ‘ Majesty’s Enemies against us, especially the *Pope*,
 ‘ and the King of *Spain*, who adhered unto him.
 ‘ How wonderfully we were deliver’d in Eighty-
 ‘ Eight, and what a Favour God therein manifest-
 ‘ unto her Majesty.

‘ His Speech, after this, tended wholly to shew,
 ‘ out of the History of *England* and the old State,
 ‘ how the Kings of *England*, ever since *Henry* the
 ‘ Third’s Time, have maintained themselves to be
 ‘ the Supreme Head over all Causes within their
 ‘ own

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3. ' own Dominions. And then reciting the Laws
' that every one made in his Time, for maintaining
' their own Supremacy, and excluding the *Pope*, he
' drew down this Proof by a Statute of every King
' since *Henry* the Third to *Edward* the Sixth.

' This ended, he came to speak of Laws, that
' they were so great, and so many already, that they
' were fit to be termed *Elephantinae Leges*. There-
' fore to make more Laws it might seem superflu-
' ous. And to him that might ask, *Quid causa ut*
' *crecant tot magna volumina Legis?* It may be an-
' swered, *In promptu causa est, crescit in orbe ma-*
' *lum.*

' The Malice of our Arch-Eneny, the Devil,
' though it were always great, yet never greater
' than now; and that *Dolus et Malum* being crept
' in so far amongst Men, it was requisite that sharp
' Ordinances should be provided to prevent them,
' and all Care be used for her Majesty's Preser-
' vation.

' Now am I to make unto your Majesty three
' Petitions, in the Name of the Commons; first,
' That Liberty of Speech, and Freedom from Ar-
' rests, according to the antient Custom of Par-
' liament, be granted to your Subjects; Secondly,
' That we may have Access unto your Royal Per-
' son, to present those Things that shall be consider-
' ed amongst us; Lastly, That your Majesty will
' give your Royal Assent to the Things that
' are agreed upon. And, for myself, I humbly
' beseech your Majesty, if any Speech shall fall
' from me, or Behaviour found in me, not decent
' and fit, it may not be imputed Blame upon the
' House, but laid upon me, and pardoned in me.'

The L. Keeper's
further Answer.

' To this Speech, the Lord-Keeper, having re-
ceived new Instructions from the Queen, made his
Reply. ' In which he first commended the Speaker
' greatly for it; and then he added some Examples
' of History for the King's Supremacy in *Hen. 2.*
' and other Kings before the Conquest. As to the
' Deliverance we received from our Enemies, and
' the

' the Peace we enjoyed, the Queen would have the Queen Elizabeth.
' Praise of all those attributed to God only. 1592-3.

' And, touching the Commendations given to herself, she said, ' Well might we have a wiser Prince, but never should they have one that more regarded them, and in Justice would carry an even Stroke, without Exception of Persons; such a Prince she wish'd they might always have.'

' To your three Demands the Queen answereth; Liberty of Speech is granted you; but how far this is to be thought on, there be two Things of most Necessity, and those two do most Harm, which are Wit and Speech: The one exercised in Invention, and the other in uttering Things invented. Privilege of Speech is granted, but you must know what Privilege you have; not to speak every one what he listeth, or what cometh in his Brain to utter that; but your Privilege is, *Aye* or *No*. Wherefore, Mr Speaker, her Majesty's Pleasure is, That if you perceive any idle Heads, which will not stick to hazard their own Estates; which will meddle with reforming the Church, and transforming the Commonwealth; and do exhibit any Bills to such Purpose, that you receive them not, until they be viewed and considered by those, who it is fitter should consider of such Things, and can better judge of them.

' To your Persons all Privileges is granted, with this Caveat, that under Colour of this Privilege, no Man's Ill-Doings, or not performing of Duties, be covered and protected.

' The last; Free Access is granted to her Majesty's Person, so that it be upon urgent and weighty Causes, and at Times convenient; and when her Majesty may be at Leisure from other important Causes of the Realm.'

The first Bill we find brought into the House of Lords, of any Note, was for the Restraining of *Popish Recusants* to some certain Places of Abode. Bill against Popish Recusants.

The

Queen Elizabeth.
1592-3.

The Bill was first introduced, under a different Title, viz. *An Act for the restraining and punishing of vagrant and seditious Persons; who, under the feigned Pretence of Conscience and Religion, corrupt and seduce the Queen's Subjects.* Under the first Title it passed into a Law and was, no Doubt, calculated to keep up Fears against *Popery*; for no Parliament in this Reign passed without an Act to that Purpose. By this Act they were confined within five Miles of their respective Dwellings, on Forfeiture of all their Goods, Chatels, and Lands, during Life.

Another against
Puritans.

But another Religious Sect, called *Puritans*, they had much Occasion at this Time to guard against, whose Principles were utterly against both the Established Church and Monarchy. The Legislature took particular Notice of these, also, in reviving a former Act for keeping the Queen's Majesty's Subjects in their due Obedience.

In the Preamble to this Act, which stands the first in our *Statute-Books* for this Year, it is declared to be made for the preventing and avoiding of such great Inconveniences and Perils, as might happen, and grow by the wicked and dangerous Practices of seditious Sectaries, and disloyal Persons. The Act itself ran, 'That if any Person, above the Age of sixteen Years, shall refuse to repair to some Church, or forbear to do the same for the Space of a Month——shall be committed to Prison there to remain, without Bail or Main-Prize, 'till they shall conform——and make such open Submission and Declaration of their Conformity as the Act appoints.' The Offenders against this Statute, who refused to make this Submission, were to abjure the Realm, and not to return without her Majesty's Licence, under the Penalty of suffering as Felons without Benefit of the Clergy.

There was great Reason for passing this Law against the *Puritans* at this Time; they were grown so bold and licentious as to libel and defame both Church and State in a very open Manner. One *Hacket*, and some other Enthusiasts, bred great Dis-

Disturbances ; for which, this Man, with *Barrow*, *Queen Elizabeth.*
Greenwood, and *Studley*, were tried, convicted of 1592-3.
High Treason, and executed this very Year. As
was one *Penry*, for writing a Book called, *Martin*
Mar-Prelate, the Year after ; as *John Stowe*, the
faithful Chronicler of these Times, relates.

The Annotator on *Rapin* tells us, that this
Act met with great Opposition in the House of
Commons, and refers us to *D'Ewes's Journals* for
the Speeches on both Sides the Question. But we
cannot find any such great Opposition in that *Jour-*
nalists' Account of it. On *February* 28th, the
Bill for reducing of disloyal Subjects to their due
Obedience, was read a second Time. It was level-
led, at first, only against the *Papists* : But, after Debate thereon,
some Arguments, amongst which, one Member
asked, Whether those that came not to Church, by
reason of the Mislike they had to Church-Govern-
ment, were to be in the same Case with a Popish
Recusant ? The Matter was committed to a very
considerable Number of the House, for further
Consideration. On the 12th of *March*, the said
Committee brought in the Bill as before ; and also
a new one framed, on a more moderate System,
which was read a first Time, and the old one
drop'd. The Particulars of both Bills are given
in several Articles, by the *Journalist*. The next
Day, this Bill was read again, and then occasioned
a farther Debate ; Mr. *Sandys* said, that he
thought the Bill ought to pass, as it was first meant,
against All Recusants, and not restrained to Popish
Recusants only. And, that, under this Bill, all
Brownists, *Barrowists*, &c. ought to be included.
Another Member was for the Restriction to *Papists*
alone ; and the Speaker said, That as the Title of
the Bill, and the Preamble, ran only against such as
are Enemies to the State, and Adherents to the
Pope, other Recusants than Popish could not be
comprised in it ; since another Bill might be framed
against those Persons, and these not included in it.
Mr *Dalton* argued, that the Sectaries ought to be
comprised in this Bill, as well as Papists ; that the
Pre-

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Preamble might be altered, and be to repress all disloyal Subjects, and force them to a more due Obedience: Or, it might be wholly left out, and go directly to the Act itself; for, he cited several Bills overthrown by too many superfluous Words in the Preamble. Dr *Lewin* made a long Speech against the *Brownists* and *Barrowists*; and concluded, that they ought to be provided against as well as *Papists*: But, whether in this or another Bill, he left it to the Wisdom of the House. After all which, the said Bill was re-committed to the former Committee appointed on the second Reading of it; and a new Bill framed against disloyal Subjects, &c. both which passed the House, without any more remarkable Opposition.

But, we cannot avoid taking Notice here, what Sentiments Mr *Rapin* hath left us concerning the Severity of this Law. It hath been more than once taken Notice of, in the Course of these Enquiries, how strangely negligent, that celebrated Writer of *English* History hath been, in giving the Proceedings of *English* Parliaments. And, in the Course of this very Reign, we should scarce know, by his Performance, there was any called, were it not that his Translator, Mr *Tindal*, hath drawn a short Account of them into his Notes. But now, the last-mentioned Act of Parliament, against *Puritans*, fires his Resentment. The Hardships the Dissenters of *England* suffered, by this Act, are painted in very strong Colours; and the Prosecution of them laid on the *English* Episcopal Clergy. Nay, this *Protestant* Queen, herself, for this and other Severities against the *Puritans*, is treated, by this Historian, in a very coarse Manner, throughout the whole Series of her Reign. We are persuaded we cannot do this Author more Justice than to transcribe his whole Paragraph; and leave any further Judgment of it to the Impartiality of our Readers.

‘ The Parliament meeting in *February*, 1593, passed an Act, which troubled not only the Catholics, but even Protestants who differed in certain Points from the Church of *England*, and were called

ed *Puritans*. By this Act, those who neglected to be present at Divine Service, established by Law, were liable to certain Penalties; and so, not only was it no longer permitted to be a Roman-Catholic with Impunity, but even a Protestant without conforming to the Church of *England*. Thus in some Measure were renewed the Days of *Henry VIII.* when it was unlawful to swerve ever so little from the Religion of the Sovereign; with this Difference, that under *Elizabeth* the Penalty was not Death, as in the Reign of her Father. Nevertheless there was in this last Act something more hard than in those of *Henry VIII.* That Prince, absolute as he was, contented himself with punishing such as, by some Overt-Act, opposed the established Religion; but by this new Statute, the Subjects were obliged openly to profess the Religion of the Church of *England*. *Elizabeth*, exasperated against the Catholics, who had made frequent Attempts upon her Crown and even her Life, would have been very glad to have cleared the Kingdom of them. On the other Hand, she could not endure the Puritans, looking upon them as obstinate People, who for very frivolous Causes bred a Schism in the Protestant Church. Whilst she was in Danger from the Queen of *Scots*, *France*, and *Spain*; in a Word, whilst her Affairs remained in a Sort of Uncertainty, she left the Puritans unmolested, for fear of uniting them in the same Interest with the Catholics. But no sooner was she firmly established, but she hearkened to the Suggestions of the Clergy, who represented the Puritans as seditious Persons, who rebelled against the Laws, and by their Disobedience shook the Foundations of the Government. This is not the only Time, nor is *England* the only State, where Disobedience in Point of Religion has been confounded with Rebellion against the Sovereign. There is scarce a Christian State, where the Prevailing Sect will suffer the least Division, or the least Swerving from the established Opinions; no, not even in private: Shall I venture to say it?

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Mr. Rapin's Remarks on the Bill against Puritans, &c.

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'Tis the Clergy chiefly who support this strange Principle of Non-Toleration, so little agreeable to Christian Charity. The Severity which from this Time began to be exercised in *England* upon the Non-Conformists, produced terrible Effects in the following Reigns, and occasioned Troubles and Factions, which remain to this Day, and of which perhaps there will be no End these many Years.'

But, to proceed, on much better Authority, —

The House of
Lords make a
Contribution for
the Relief of
maim'd Soldiers,
&c.

The Lords *Journals* tell us, that *March* 13th, this Session, on a Motion of the Bishop of *Worcester*; the Lords condescended to a Contribution, for the Relief of such poor Soldiers, as went begging about the Streets of *London*, after this Rate. That every Earl should give 40s. every Bishop 30 s. every Baron 20s. and appointed the said Bishop of *Worcester* and the Lord *Norris*, Collectors; and the Earl of *Essex* and the Lord *Willoughby*, Distributors thereof. These last Lords had been Generals abroad, and therefore properest to disburse this Charity. But the Matter did not rest here; for, on the 9th day of *April*, another Entry is made, That,

Their Order
thereupon.

'Whereas the Lords of Parliament, both Spiritual and Temporal, assembled, in the Parliament-Chamber, at *Westminster*, have all, with uniform Consent, in their own Names, and the rest of the Lords absent, ordered, That there should be a charitable Relief and Contribution made towards the Aid and Help of a Number of Soldiers, that are seen, in the Time of this Parliament, maimed and sore hurt, in the Wars of *France*, the *Low-Countries*, and over the Seas for the Service of the Queen's Majesty and this Realm. And for that Purpose have allotted, that every Archbishop, Marquis, Earl, and Viscount, should pay towards this Contribution the Sum of forty Shillings, every Bishop thirty, and every Baron twenty Shillings; for collecting whereof there hath been appointed the Queen's Majesty's Almoner, the Bishop of *Worcester*, for the Bishops, and the Lord *Norris* for the Lords Temporal, which hath been diligently done and received of
all

all those Lords who have attended their great Charge in Parliament. And, considering the Number of the Soldiers, being many to be relieved, notwithstanding the Knights, Citizens and Burgesſes of the Lower Houſe, have yielded very good and large Contribution, according to their Degrees; yet, for the better Relief of the ſaid maimed Soldiers, it is by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that have given their chargeable Attendance, and alſo charitably and honourably yielded to this Contribution, thought meet, and ſo it is ordered and decreed by them, with common and full Aſſent; That all the Lords of Parliament, who have been altogether abſent in this Seſſion, and that ſhall not have contributed to this Charity before the End of this Seſſion, ſhall be required, by Letters ſent to them, by the Lords their Proxies in their Abſence, or from the Lord-Keeper of the great Seal, requiring and charging them, to make Payment, according to their Degrees and Vocation, the Double of the Sums of Money paid by the Lords that have been here preſent, and continued their Attendance; that is to ſay, Every abſent Earl, with the Archbiſhop of York, four Pounds; every abſent Biſhop three Pounds; and every Baron forty Shillings. Likewise, ſuch Lords as have attended ſometimes, tho' ſeldom, ſhall, according to their Degrees, pay a third Part more than the Lords that are conſtant here. All ſuch Sums of Money ſhall be delivered to the Lord Keeper, and afterwards diſtributed, by ſuch Lords as are choſen for that Purpoſe, to the maimed Soldiers that ſtand the moſt in need thereof. And, as the Commons, in this preſent Parliament, have rated their abſent Members double, ſo we think this Order very juſt; conſidering the abſent Lords and others who have been at no Charge to come up and give their Attendance; may, very reaſonably, and with great Saving of their Charge, contribute to this Order. And, if any Lord, Spiritual or Temporal, ſhall reſuſe or forbear to do this, (which it

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' is hoped in Honour none will do) there shall be
' ordinary Means used to levy the same.'

An Act for their
Relief.

This charitable Order of the House is extracted at Length, to shew the good Disposition of this Parliament in relieving, out of their own Pockets, the Necessities of their brave Countrymen. But this was not all; they resolved to make the rest of the Kingdom contribute to the same, by bringing in a Bill for the Relief of Soldiers and Mariners; by which Act every Parish was charged with a Sum, weekly, for the Relief of sick, hurt and maimed Soldiers and Seamen. Which Act is the first of its Kind for this charitable and necessary Purpose, though several more succeeded it in this Reign; and, in later Days, two Royal Hospitals have been built, for the same Use, which are now, certainly, the brightest Ornaments of *Great Britain*.

The Annalist, Mr *Styve*, hath restored to us a famous Speech of the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh's*, made some Day this Session in the House of Lords, but when is not mentioned. It may therefore be suppos'd to be spoke before the Subsidy Bill came up from the Commons, in order to acquaint the Lords with the State of the Nation at that Time, and prepare them for furthering the Supply. Our Author says he copied it from a Manuscript of the Lord Treasurer's own Hand-Writing; nor must this Speech, nor the Schedule of the Queen's extraordinary Charges on account of the War, annexed to it, want a Place in this History.

Lord Burleigh's
Speech for a Sup-
ply.

TO make a Declaration of the first Cause, and original Beginning, whereby her Majesty was provoked to arm her Realms with Forces, were a Labour lost in this Place: Where in former Times the same hath been often declared; and wherein a great Number of the Nobility here present have heard many Circumstances thereof, at the Proceedings with the late Queen of *Scots*. For whom, and by whom, the Quarrels were first made against the Queen's Majesty's

‘ jesty’s Person, against the Religion and Quietness Queen Elizabeth.
 ‘ of the Realm. 1592-3.

‘ And therefore, leaving the Repetition of that
 ‘ Cause, by which her Majesty was detained in a
 ‘ Kind of War, to withstand both the Kings of
 ‘ *France* and *Spain*, who intermeddled in the Case
 ‘ of the Queen of *Scots* against her Majesty ; yet
 ‘ there hath followed continually such a deadly Ma-
 ‘ lice from the King of *Spain*, the Bishop of *Rome*,
 ‘ and their Confederates, as unto this Day, wherein
 ‘ no Intermiſſion hath been of Attempts against
 ‘ her Majesty and the Realm ; altho’ at some Time
 ‘ more vehement than at some others ; as appeared
 ‘ in the Year 88, by his open Armies both by
 ‘ Sea and Land ; being of greater Force than ever
 ‘ was known to be made by his Father the Emperor
 ‘ *Charles*, or by himself, or by any Christian Prince
 ‘ within the Memory of Man.

‘ But minding to overpaſs all the Attempts afore
 ‘ that huge Enterprize, that was frustrate by God’s
 ‘ ſpecial Goodneſs beyond the Expectation of the
 ‘ World : And conſidering there hath been no Af-
 ‘ ſembly of Parliament ſince that Time, wherein her
 ‘ Majesty might publickly declare to the States of
 ‘ her Realm the Continuance of the former At-
 ‘ tempts, but the Increaſe of more Dangers than
 ‘ were ſeen in any Time before. Therefore, as
 ‘ was delivered by the Lord-Keeper of the Great
 ‘ Seal, her Majesty hath ſummarily imparted the
 ‘ ſame to this Aſſembly, referring the Conſidera-
 ‘ tion thereof to the whole three Eſtates, whereof
 ‘ two are in this Place ; how the ſame Danger
 ‘ may be withſtood, and by what Proviſion her
 ‘ Majesty and Realm may be preſerved in domeſtic
 ‘ Peace, as yet it is, as in a Center of Happineſs,
 ‘ where the Circumference is in open Calamity.

‘ And, becauſe it is all our Parts and Duties, firſt
 ‘ to God, and to our Sovereign Head, and our na-
 ‘ tive Country, to apply all our Endeavour, being
 ‘ every one of us called to this Place, by ſpecial
 ‘ Commandment, in expreſs Words, upon Con-
 ‘ ſideration of the Hardneſs of the Buſineſs, and the

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‘ Perils imminent, to treat with her Majesty, and
‘ with the Prelates and Great Men of the Realm,
‘ and to give our Counsels, so as it is convenient for
‘ us all; first to consider the Perils, and then to give
‘ Counsel.

‘ Therefore in discharging of my Duty, with
‘ your Patience in suffering an old Man, beside
‘ his Years, decayed in his Spirits with Sickness,
‘ to declare some Part of his Knowledge of the
‘ Dangers and Perils imminent; But for Advice
‘ and Counsel how to withstand the same, I shall
‘ be constrained, for Lack of sufficient Understan-
‘ ding in so great Cause, to require some further
‘ Conference with your Lordships, or with so many
‘ as shall appear more able than I am, to give some
‘ good Entry thereto.

‘ As to the Dangers, that they be great and im-
‘ minent, that they have both lately grown, and
‘ likely to increase, these be manifest Arguments.
‘ First, the King of *Spain*, since he hath usurped
‘ upon the Kingdom of *Portugal*, he hath thereby
‘ grown mighty by gaining the *East Indies*. So as
‘ how great soever he was before, he is now there-
‘ by more manifestly great. But for Increase
‘ hereof, to be greater; yea, greater than any Chri-
‘ stian Prince hath been; he hath lately joined
‘ with his intended Purpose, newly to invade this
‘ Realm, with more Might than before he did the
‘ Invasion of *France*, by sundry Ways. Not as in
‘ former Times, when the Emperor *Charles* and
‘ the *French* Kings, the great *Francis* and the war-
‘ like *Henry*, made former Wars for Towns, their
‘ greatest Wars. Yea, when the present King of
‘ *Spain* had his great Army against *Henry* of *France*.
‘ For in those Wars none of them intended to do
‘ any thing more, but to be revenged of supposed
‘ Injuries, by burning or winning of some frontier
‘ Towns by Besieging. And after such Revenges,
‘ mutually had to the Satisfaction of their Appe-
‘ tites; wherein neither Party had any special Ad-
‘ vantage, they fell to Truces, and in the End with
‘ Knots sometimes of Intermarriages. And by
‘ these

‘ these Kind of Wars none of them did increase in
 ‘ Greatness, to be dangerous to their Enemies.
 ‘ And in these Kind of Wars, our Kings of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* had their Interest, for the most Part, to the
 ‘ Expence of Men and Money ; and never to the
 ‘ Loss of any small Portion of any Ground in *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* and *Wales*, nor otherwise : But by yielding
 ‘ to the King of *Spain*, by means of the Marriage
 ‘ of Queen *Mary*, to make War with *France*, the
 ‘ Realm lost that noble Town and Port of *Calais*,
 ‘ with great Seignories and Territories thereunto
 ‘ belonging.

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‘ But now the Case is altered. The King of
 ‘ *Spain* maketh these his mighty Wars, by means
 ‘ only of his *Indies* ; not purposely to burn a Town
 ‘ in *France* or *England*, but to conquer all *France*,
 ‘ *England* and *Ireland*. And for Proof hereof—
 ‘ First for *France*, he hath invaded *Britain*, taken
 ‘ the Port, builded his Fortresses, carried in his Ar-
 ‘ my ; waged a Navy in *Britain* ; received into
 ‘ Wages a great Number of his Subjects, as Rebels
 ‘ to *France*. And there he keepeth a Navy arm-
 ‘ ed, to impede all Trade from *England* to *Gas-*
 ‘ *coign* and *Guyenne* ; which he attempted to do
 ‘ this last Vintage. And so he had had his Pur-
 ‘ pose, if to the great Charges of the Merchants,
 ‘ and by Countenance of her Majesty’s Navy, sent
 ‘ to the Coast of *Britain*, the Shipping of *England*
 ‘ had not been much stronger than his. Besides
 ‘ this his possessing a great Part of *Britain*, towards
 ‘ *Spain*, he hath, at his Commandment, all the best
 ‘ Ports of *Britain* towards *England*. So as now
 ‘ he is become as a Frontier Enemy to all the West
 ‘ of *England*. And by his Commandment, and his
 ‘ waged Troops in *Newhaven*, he hath enlarged his
 ‘ Frontiers now against all the South Parts of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land*, as *Suffex*, *Hampshire*, Isle of *Wight*. Yea,
 ‘ by means of his Interest in *St Malo’s*, a Port full
 ‘ of Shipping for the War, he is a dangerous Neigh-
 ‘ bour to the Queen’s Isles of *Fersey* and *Guernsey*,
 ‘ antient Possessions of this Crown, and never
 ‘ conquer’d in the greatest Wars with *France*.

‘ Of

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‘ Of this Matter of *Britain* a Man might enlarge,
 ‘ the Danger so great to *England*, as if he had at-
 ‘ tempted nothing at all in *Normandy* and *France*;
 ‘ yet the Danger hereof might appear so great, as
 ‘ ought to induce *England* to spare no Cost to with-
 ‘ stand it. And herewith he is not contented to
 ‘ seek this Dukedom, but he destines all his Forces
 ‘ to conquer the Kingdom of *France*, the principal
 ‘ Kingdom of *Christendom*: And, to atchieve his
 ‘ Enterprize, he hath, these two Years-day and
 ‘ more, corrupted, with great Sums of Money and
 ‘ large Pensions, certain factious Noblemen, not
 ‘ of the Blood of *France*, nor the great Officers of
 ‘ the Crown; and by them, and with these Re-
 ‘ bels, and by waging of his Soldiers in some of
 ‘ the principal Towns of *France*, as *Paris*, *Roan*,
 ‘ *Orleans*, *Lyons*, *Tolozé*, and others, he hath pro-
 ‘ cured a Rebellion against the King, against all
 ‘ the Princes of the Blood, against all the great Of-
 ‘ ficers of the Crown. But finding these Rebels
 ‘ not strong enough of themselves, notwithstanding
 ‘ they are well waged by him to withstand
 ‘ the King, he hath, to his great Charges, levied
 ‘ and sent into *France*, even to *Paris* and *Roan*,
 ‘ Armies collected of *Walloons*, *Lorainers*, *Italians*,
 ‘ *Spaniards*, *Almains*, and *Switzers*. Wherewith
 ‘ he hath twice entered into *France*; tho’ God
 ‘ gave him no good Success, but great Loss and
 ‘ Reproach.

‘ Besides these foreign Armies, sent from the
 ‘ *Low-Countries*, he hath caused his Son-in-Law,
 ‘ the Duke of *Savoy*, to invade *France* by *Provence*
 ‘ and *Dolphiné*; and the Duke of *Lorain* by *Bur-*
 ‘ *gundy* and *Champaign*, and to environ *France*.
 ‘ Further, he hath sent Armies by Sea, out of
 ‘ *Spain*, to invade *Languedoc*. And even now at this
 ‘ present, all these foreign Forces are newly made
 ‘ ready to enter into all Parts of *France*, made by a
 ‘ colourable Assembly of the Rebels in *Paris*, to
 ‘ represent the three Estates; yet without a King,
 ‘ or a Head. He intendeth to be a King of that
 ‘ Realm; or to make his Daughter the Queen,
 ‘ and

and to appoint her a Husband, to be as his *Queen Elizabeth.*
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He hath also the Pope so addicted to him, as he that never was wont to send to any Parts but only *Italy*, by Bulls with Lead and Parchment, did now levy and send an Army into *France*. And tho' he coloureth it with Matter of Defence of Catholick Religion, yet both he and the King of *Spain* make War against all the Princes of the Blood, and Officers of the Realm, being sound Catholicks. And so they have, by their Ambassadors, lately advertis'd the Pope; as by the Cardinal *Gundy*, and Marquis *Pysany*, antient Counsellors of *France*, and Catholicks. So as the Pretence of the Pope and the King of *Spain*, in that Point, are merely *France*.

These are the Dangers in *France*, and must of Consequence draw *England* into like Peril; without God's special Goodness, and the speedy Support to be given to her Majesty for Prevention thereof.

Now to manifest the King of *Spain's* Attempt to invade *England*, whereof I think no good *Englishman* so want of Feeling to think otherwise, yet I will remember to you divers manifest Arguments thereof; and afterwards, to supply the Want of any Man's Feeling only by Arguments or Tokens, I will declare to you the very Truth of his Determination, by manifest Proofs. So as none ought to think, because he was disappointed of his Intention for the Conquest of *England* by his huge Navy, therefore he will put that Disgrace up, and leave off with that Loss. But it is certain, he hath, the two last Years, builded a great Number of Ships of War, as near as he can to the Mold and Quality of the *English* Navy; finding, by Experience, his monstrous great Ships not fit for our narrow Seas. He hath lately armed a Number of Gallies on the Coast of *Britain*, which he intendeth to send this Summer to *Newhaven*. He hath also, these two Years-day, both bought and built
great

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‘ great Ships in *Eastland*. He hath, both from
‘ thence, and by Corruption of our faint and co-
‘ vetous Neighbours in *Holland*, recovered, with
‘ Silver Hooks, both Mariners, Ships, Cordage, and
‘ all Provisions. These being now on the Point
‘ of Readiness to serve on the Seas, a good Argu-
‘ ment may be made, That this Navy must be for
‘ *England*. For now that he hath all the Mari-
‘ time Coast of *Britain*, and that he hath, in *Nor-*
‘ *mandy*, *Newhaven*, there is no Service by Sea to
‘ enter into any Part of *France* with this Navy.

‘ How he and the Pope ply themselves to win
‘ a Party in *England* to be ready to second his In-
‘ vasion, I am sorry and loth to relate ; and how
‘ far they have prevailed herein to gain so great a
‘ Multitude of vulgar People ; yea, of some that are
‘ of Wealth and Countenance, to adhere to these
‘ Invaders at their Entry, with vain Hopes to at-
‘ tain to the Places, Honours, and Livelihoods, of
‘ such as are now known true, natural *English-*
‘ *men*, and good Subjects.

‘ But to such as these Arguments will not suf-
‘ fice to be persuaded, that this Intention of the
‘ King of *Spain*, to invade this Realm, is certain ;
‘ this that followeth shall fully satisfy any Man,
‘ yea, any Man that useth to believe nothing until
‘ he shall see it. There are taken in *Scotland*, and
‘ imprisoned, certain that came first out of *Spain*,
‘ near afore *Christmas*, from the King ; who be-
‘ fore had been sent out of *Scotland* to the King
‘ of *Spain*. These Messengers brought Assurance
‘ to certain Noblemen, of the greatest Calling in
‘ *Scotland*, that if they would send their Bonds,
‘ under their Hands and Seals, to serve the King of
‘ *Spain*, for the Invasion of *England*, by Land,
‘ next Summer, the King would send an Army of
‘ 25,000 to the West of *Scotland* ; and would give
‘ the Noblemen Wages for 10,000 *Scots*, to be
‘ joined with 20,000 of his, to invade *England* ;
‘ and would keep 5000 of his in *Scotland*, to aid
‘ them to over-rule the King of *Scots*, and to
‘ change the Religion. This Accord was per-
‘ fected

‘ fected by three Noblemen, Earls *Arrol*, *Huntley*, *Queen Elizabeth*,
 ‘ and *Angus* ; promifing their own Affiftance, be- 1592-3.
 ‘ fides Affurance, in general Words, of divers more,
 ‘ not yet difcovered. And for an Earneft-Penny,
 ‘ thefe Earls have received good Sums of Money
 ‘ from the *Low-Countries*.

‘ Now for Proof hereof, the Meflenger that was
 ‘ fent, and on Ship-Board, was taken; with the
 ‘ Bonds of the Noblemen, fome figned and fealed
 ‘ by them all, and of every Earl a Part, in feveral
 ‘ Bonds in *French* and *Latin*. The Meflenger
 ‘ hath confefled the whole to the King, who fo
 ‘ carefully proceeded therein as if he had not tra-
 ‘ vailed therein himfelf; fuch of his Council as
 ‘ were appointed to examine the Parties that were
 ‘ taken, durft not, for fear of the Greatnefs of the
 ‘ Noblemen that had offended, and were not fled,
 ‘ examine the Meflenger of any thing that might
 ‘ concern thefe Noblemen. They are fince all
 ‘ fled; and the King hath gathered of his good Sub-
 ‘ jects a certain Power to purfue them. But it is
 ‘ doubted, that they will flee into the *West Iflands*.
 ‘ And from thence either to pafs into *Spain*, or to
 ‘ have Forces fent out of *Spain*. But the King,
 ‘ the Day before he went, caufed one *Fentry*, an
 ‘ old Practifer with *Spain*, for the Queen of *Scots*,
 ‘ a Man of a good Houfe and great Wealth, to be
 ‘ executed, being a principal Contriver of this Con-
 ‘ fpiracy. To animate the King to follow this
 ‘ Action, her Majefty hath fent my Lord of
 ‘ *Bourgh*.

‘ Thus far have I obferved my Purpofe, to fhew
 ‘ the Danger; and to give Counfel to the Remedy,
 ‘ *Hoc opus, hic labor eft*. And I would gladly to
 ‘ have fome Company, of whom I might have
 ‘ fome Light, how to find out the Darknefs of the
 ‘ Question; Wherein, when Time fhall ferve, I
 ‘ will not be filent, but deliver mine Opinion,
 ‘ and reform it upon good Ground.’

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The Queen's Extraordinary Charges, by Means of the War, moved by the King of Spain. Set down by the Lord-Treasurer, in the same Paper with the foregoing Speech.

For Defence of the Low-Countries by Year — — —	} 130,000 l.
For the Charge in Mr <i>Huddleston's</i> Time, for — Years — — —	} 154,000 l.
To the Earl of <i>Leicester</i> for <i>Sluce</i>	31,000 l.
To Sir <i>Thomas Shirley</i> , Feb. 1586.	531,120 l.
Total,	846,120 l.
In <i>Normandy</i> with my Lord <i>Wilmington</i> , for 6000 Men,	} 49,283 l.
In <i>Normandy</i> with my Lord of <i>Essex</i> , with — Thousand Men.	
In <i>Britain</i> with Sir <i>John Norris</i> , with 4000 Men. In aiding the <i>French King</i> with Money. For Maintenance of the Navy on the Narrow Seas, sometimes with 800, sometimes with 700, some- times with 600,	} 232,000 l.
Besides the ordinary keeping of the Navy at 1200 l. a Month; per Annum — — —	} 14,400 l.
For the Office of the Ordnance	62,000 l.
<i>Scotland</i> — — — — —	15,000 l.
In all	1,218,803 l.

March the 24th. The Commons sent up a Bill to the Lords, which was entitled, *An Act for the Grant of three entire Subsidies and six Fifteenths and Tenths, by the Temporality*; and it passed the House of Lords, on the 30th, without any Opposition.

This is all that the *Journals* of the Lords give us; but, that of the Commons is not so barren.
For

For after the Ceremonies of the Opening this Session were finished, the next Thing we find entered, is, 'That on *February* 24th Mr. *Peter Wentworth* and Sir *Henry Bromley* delivered a Petition to the Lord Keeper, therein desiring the Lords of the Upper House to be Suppliants, with them of the Lower, unto her Majesty for *Entailing the Succession of the Crown*; for which they had a Bill ready drawn.'

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This Matter was highly resented by the Queen, as contrary to her former strict Commands. They were soon after called before the Council; and, though the Lords there spoke favourably to them, yet, they were told that her Majesty was so highly offended at them that they must be committed. Accordingly, Mr. *Wentworth* was sent Prisoner to the Tower, Sir *Henry Bromley* to the Fleet; and one Mr. *Richard Stevens* and Mr. *Welch*, two other Members concerned in drawing the Petition, were sent to the Fleet with him.

Four Members
committed by
the Privy Council,
for proposing
a Bill for Entail-
ing the Succession
of the Crown.

This is an odd Beginning of a Parliament; and shewed the Queen's Resolution to maintain the Prerogative of the Crown in a very high Degree: How long these four Members were confined is uncertain; for, on the 10th of *March* one Mr. *Wroth*, we are told, moved the House, on the Subsidy-Bill, 'That since some Countries might complain of these very large Taxations, their Knights and Burgessees never consenting, not being present at the Grant: And, because, an Instrument, by taking away some of its Strings, can give but an unpleasant Sound: Therefore, he desired that the House would be humble Suitors to her Majesty, that she would be pleased to set at Liberty those Members of it that were restrained.'

Motion for their
Discharge.

This was opposed by all the Members of the Privy-Council in that House; who argued 'That her Majesty had committed them for Reasons best known to herself; and for them to press her in that Suit was but to make their Case the worse. They added, that it was not to be doubted but her Majesty, of her gracious Disposition, would shortly do it

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it of her own Accord, and that it was much better to have it left to herself than sought for by them.

It is strange that *Cambden* hath not one Word of this memorable Accident, who was Cotemporary and must be acquainted with it. However, this Severity of the Queen's had its Effect; for no more Mention is made of Settling the Succession in this Parliament, nor in any other of her Reign.

Debate in the
Commons, on
the Supply.

On the 26th of *February*, the Business of a Supply was moved in this House; our *Journalist* is very particular in the Speeches made on that Occasion, by the Ministers of State who were Members of that House, &c. We are told they were not entered in the Original Journal Book of the Commons, but taken from an Anonymous Manuscript *Journal*, kept by some Member of it. This Gentleman proves to be *Heywood Townshend*, Esq; who hath left a Collection of all the Proceedings in the four last Parliaments of *Elizabeth*, which were printed, *Folio*, London 1680. The Journals of Sir *Symonds Dewes* were not published till two Years after, but then they were posthumous, and dedicated to Sir *Willoughby Dewes* his Son; so that it is probable he never knew who was the Author of the former. This being premised, we next proceed to the Speeches on the Supply, and first Sir *Robert Cecil*.

Mr. Speaker,

' As I remember, I have been of this House
' these five Parliaments; and I have not determin-
' ed to say any thing, in these Assemblies, further
' than my Cogitations should concur with my Con-
' science in saying bare *Aye*, or *No*. Give me leave,
' I pray you, to rehearse an old Saying, and it is
' in Latin, *Nec te collaudes, nec te vituperes ipse*;
' for me to do the one were exceeding Arrogancy,
' and to do the other, I do confess, I hope, you
' will pardon me.

' The Occasion of this Parliament, as I take it
' by that which we received from the honourable
' and learned Speech of the Lord Keeper of and
from

' from her Majesty to us in the Higher House, is Queen Elizabeth,
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 ' for the Cause of Religion and Maintenance there-
 ' of amongst us, the Preservation of her Majesty's
 ' most Royal Person, and the Good of this Realm
 ' of our Country. All which becaufe they be
 ' things of most dear and greatest Price, and at
 ' this present in exceeding great and imminent
 ' Danger, it is most behoofful to consult of speedy
 ' Remedies, which should proceed from the wisest
 ' Heads. The Enemy to these is the King of
 ' *Spain*, whose Malice and Ambition is such, as
 ' together with the *Pope*, that Antichrist of *Rome*,
 ' (for I may well couple them together, the one
 ' being always accompanied with Envy at our
 ' Prosperity, the other with unsatiable Desire) makes
 ' them by all Means to seek the Subversion of the
 ' State. But concerning the first, The Cause of
 ' God and his Religion, which her Majesty pro-
 ' fessed before she came to sit in this Royal Seat,
 ' which she hath defended and maintained, and for
 ' which Cause God hath so blessed her Govern-
 ' ment since her Coming to the Crown: Yea,
 ' while the Crown was scarce warm on her Head,
 ' she abolished the Authority of *Rome*, and did set
 ' up God's Truth amongst us; and to her great
 ' Renown made this little Land to be a Sanctuary
 ' for all the persecuted Saints of God: Whereby
 ' the People perceived her Magnanimity, Zeal and
 ' Judgment; Magnanimity in undertaking so great
 ' an Enterprize; Zeal in professing the same, not
 ' for the Shew, but of Sincerity; Judgment in de-
 ' fending it and preventing all the *Pope's* De-
 ' signs. He sent forth his Bulls and Missives against
 ' her Majesty, thereby unnaturally depriving her
 ' of her natural Right, the Duty and Loyalty
 ' which her Subjects should owe unto her, &c. He
 ' touched the many Dangers her Majesty had been
 ' in, which as it caused him to fear to think, so did
 ' he tremble to speak concerning the Danger of our
 ' Country, and so the Loss of our Lives, Liber-
 ' ties, Wives, Children, and all other Privileges.
 ' Let me not trouble you with things past so long,
 ' and

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‘ and perhaps beyond my Reach, but with Things
 ‘ past of late Years and since Eighty Eight. When
 ‘ we were so secure, and never thought that the
 ‘ King of *Spain* would have set up his Rest for
 ‘ *England*: Then sent he his Navy termed *Invin-*
 ‘ *cible*, and was almost upon the Backs of us before
 ‘ we were aware. Yea, we were so slack in Pro-
 ‘ vision, that it was too late to make Resistance,
 ‘ had not God preserved us. His Attempt against
 ‘ us, by seeking to win the *Low-Countries* and to
 ‘ obtain *Ireland*, being but Trifles and poultry De-
 ‘ vices, which I mean not to trouble you with; he
 ‘ hath now of late gone about to win *France*,
 ‘ wherein he hath greatly prevailed, as in *Lorraine*
 ‘ and in other Parts, as you have heard, but spe-
 ‘ cially in *Britany*, having most Part of the Port-
 ‘ Towns in his Possession, whither he still sendeth
 ‘ Supply daily, and reinforces them every four or
 ‘ five Months, which Port is always open and his
 ‘ Men and Forces never wanting. This Province
 ‘ he especially desireth, for it lyeth most fitly to
 ‘ annoy us, whither he may send Forces continual-
 ‘ ly, and there have his Navy in a Readiness; the
 ‘ which he could not so easily, unless he had the
 ‘ Wind in a Bag. Besides, having this Province,
 ‘ he will keep us from Traffick to *Rochell* and
 ‘ *Bordeaux*, as he doth in the Streights from *Tri-*
 ‘ *poly* and *St. Jean de Luz*: And so hinder us from
 ‘ carrying forth and bringing into this Land any
 ‘ Commodities from those Parts, whereby the
 ‘ Realm might be enriched and her Majesty’s Im-
 ‘ post increased, being one of the greatest Reve-
 ‘ nues of her Crown. He hath also gone about
 ‘ with them of *Stode* and the King of *Poland*, one
 ‘ of his own Faction, and who by reason he can-
 ‘ not do in that Kingdom what he listeth, he may
 ‘ not so easily command him to impede, or hin-
 ‘ der our Traffick in those Eastern Parts, which if
 ‘ he could bring to pass, you see how hurtful it
 ‘ would be to this Land.

‘ But to descend yet lower into these latter Ac-
 ‘ tions. He hath seen it is but a Folly to make
 ‘ Wooden-

‘ Wooden-Bridges to pass into *England*, therefore
 ‘ he hath found out a surer Way and stronger Pas- Queen Elizabeth
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 ‘ sage into it by Land, and that by *Scotland*; which
 ‘ though it be not talked of on the *Exchange*, nor
 ‘ preached at *Paul’s Cross*, yet it is most true; and
 ‘ in *Scotland* as common as the High-way, “ That
 ‘ he hath procured unto him many of the Nobility
 ‘ there.” It may be he hath sent thither no great
 ‘ Navy, and that her Majesty would not suffer him
 ‘ to do; yet do what she can, some one Paltry
 ‘ Fly-Boat may escape her Majesty’s Ships, and
 ‘ carry Gold enough in her to make them Traitors,
 ‘ and stir them to Sedition. These Things her
 ‘ Majesty understood before, and advertised the
 ‘ King thereof; which the Effect hath proved to
 ‘ be true. For unless I be deceived, the last Let-
 ‘ ters, that came from thence, might shew that the
 ‘ King is gone to make a Road into the North, and
 ‘ to bring back the Lord *Bothwell* and the Lord
 ‘ *Huntley*. The King of *Spain’s* Malice thus daily
 ‘ increaseth against us, and seeketh also to stir up
 ‘ Sedition amongst us by his Instruments. The
 ‘ Number also of *Papists* daily increaseth, or at
 ‘ leastwise becomes more manifest. My Advice is,
 ‘ that you would consult how to withstand such
 ‘ imminent Dangers, which the greater they be,
 ‘ the sooner they should be looked into and remem-
 ‘ bred. Wherefore I would desire Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ that he would appoint some Committees of the
 ‘ sufficientest and wisest Men in the House to con-
 ‘ sider thereon.’

Then Sir *John Wolley* spake to the like Ef-
 ‘ fect, saying, ‘ That upon the Cause of the Dan-
 ‘ ger the Realm was now in, and of the Remedy,
 ‘ his Speech should consist; which he likened to a
 ‘ natural Body, in which the more Danger the
 ‘ principal Member was in, the greater Means there
 ‘ should be used for the Preservation thereof.
 ‘ *Roan* being made now Admiral of *France* by
 ‘ the League, should say, that he was a poor Ad-
 ‘ miral now, but yet he doubted not, but that short-
 ‘ ly

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ly he should be able to bring such a Navy as should terrify the Queen of *England*. Also he shewed how the Princes of the Holy League had conspired the Overthrow of the Realm, the Extirpation of Religion, and the Confusion of her Majesty and her loyal Subjects. And exhorted the House, now because the Season of the Year groweth on, which calleth many of the Knights and Burgessees to be in their Countries, besides the Sicknes being in the Town, so that many of that House knew not whether they lodged in Houses infected or not, that they would seek to dispatch and end the Parliament so soon as might be. He also shewed how the *Dunkirkers* troubled our Fishermen in small Barks upon the Sea-coasts. And so that this Matter might be committed to some of the sufficientest in the House. He also exhorted the House to a speedy Agreeing of a Subsidy: Which, considering the Dangers we were in, and that it was for our own Good, as also, for her Majesty's, he hoped that no good Subject but would willingly agree to it. Also, he shewed, that the Wars with the King of *Spain* had cost her Majesty a Million of Money: But this he avouched, that where it cost her Majesty one, it cost the King of *Spain* three.'

Then Sir *John Fortescue* said, 'They that spake before me, spake sufficiently of the Authors of our Troubles, of the great Danger which is now imminent, insomuch that it is come to this Point now, *Non utrúm imperare, sed utrúm vivere*. I will speak of nothing but that which concerns my Calling. Her Majesty not being only careful for the Preservation of her own Realm, but of her Neighbours also; she hath not only defended her own Subjects from being invaded, but also hath aided Strangers which wanted Money, with whom otherwise it would have gone ill by this Time both with them and ourselves. Insomuch that the Burthen of four Kingdoms hath rested upon her Majesty, which she

' she hath maintained with her Purse, *England*, Queen Elizabeth,
 ' *France*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*. For how could 1592-3.
 ' the *French* King, at his first Coming to the
 ' Crown, have held out against those Leaguers, had
 ' not her Majesty assisted him with her Men and
 ' Money, which hath cost her Majesty above a
 ' hundred thousand Pound? For it is well known
 ' that the *French* King had not been able to with-
 ' stand the Duke of *Parma's* coming into *France*,
 ' had it not been for our *English* Men and Money.
 ' As for the *Low-Countries*, they have stood her
 ' Majesty yearly, since she undertook the Defence of
 ' them, one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds. —
 ' All which her Majesty bestowed for the Good of
 ' the Realm, to free us from War at home. Be-
 ' sides, when her Majesty came to the Crown, she
 ' found it four Millions indebted; her Navy when
 ' she came to view it, she found greatly decayed:
 ' Yet all this She hath discharged, and (Thanks to
 ' God) is nothing indebted; and now she is able to
 ' match any Prince in *Europe*, which the *Spaniards*
 ' found when they came to invade us. Yea, she
 ' hath with her Ships compassed the whole World,
 ' whereby this Land is made famous throughout
 ' all Places. She did find in her Navy all Iron-
 ' Pieces, but she hath furnished it with Artillery of
 ' Brasse; so that one of her Ships is not a Subject's
 ' but rather a petty King's Wealth. As for her own
 ' private Expences, they have been little in Build-
 ' ing; she hath consumed little or nothing in her
 ' Pleasures. As for her Apparel, it is Royal and
 ' Princely, befitting her Calling, but not sumptuous
 ' nor excessive. The Charges of her House
 ' small, yea, never less in any King's Time. And
 ' shortly (by God's Grace) she will free her Sub-
 ' jects from that Trouble which hath come by the
 ' Means of Purveyors. Wherefore she trusteth,
 ' that every good Subject will assist her Majesty
 ' with his Purse, seeing it concerns his own Good
 ' and the Preservation of his Estate. For before
 ' that any of us would lose the least Member of
 ' his Body, we would bestow a great deal, and

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‘ stick for no Cost nor Charges: How much more
‘ ought we in this political Body, whereof not on-
‘ ly a Member but the whole is in Jeopardy, if
‘ we do not make haste to the Preservation there-
‘ of? And for these Subsidies which are granted
‘ now adays to her Majesty, they are less by half than
‘ they were in King *Henry* the VIIIth’s Time.
‘ Now although her Majesty has borrowed some
‘ Money of her Subjects besides her Subsidies, yet
‘ she has truly repaid and answered every one
‘ fully. I desire the Matter may be put to a
‘ Committee.’

Mr. *Francis Bacon* spake to the Effect follow-
ing, viz. ‘ That which these Honourable Perso-
‘ nages have spoken of their Experiences, May it
‘ please you to give me leave likewise to deliver of
‘ my common Knowledge. The Cause of Af-
‘ fecting all Parliaments hath been hitherto for
‘ Laws or Moneys: The one being the Sinews of
‘ Peace, the other of War. To the one I am
‘ not privy, but the other I should know. I did
‘ take great Contentment in her Majesty’s Speech
‘ the other Day delivered by the Lord Keeper,
‘ how that it was a Thing not to be done suddenly
‘ nor at one Parliament, nor scarce a whole Year
‘ would suffice to purge the Statute-Book, and less-
‘ sen the Volume of Laws; being so many in
‘ Number, that neither common People can prac-
‘ tise them, nor the Lawyer sufficiently understand
‘ them: Than the which nothing should tend
‘ more to the Praise of her Majesty.

‘ The *Romans* appointed ten Men, who were
‘ to correct and recal all former Laws, and to set
‘ forth those twelve Tables so much of all Men to
‘ be commended. The *Athenians* likewise appoin-
‘ ted six for that Purpose. And *Lewis* the IXth,
‘ King of *France*, did the like in Reforming his Laws.’
The rest of his Argument tended to the Appointing
a select and grave Committee, both to consider
of the Dangers of the Realm, and of speedy
Supply and Aid to be given to her Majesty. ‘ And
‘ there-

thereupon the House did accordingly nominate the said Committee, to deliberate and consult in what Proportion they might now relieve her Majesty with Subsidies, in respect of those many and great Enemies against whose Power and Malice she was to provide, and prepare for necessary Defence and Preservation of her Realms and Dominions.

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On the 27th of *February* Mr. *Morrice* mov'd the House, 'Touching the hard Courses of the Bishopps and Ordinaries, and other Ecclesiastical Judges in their Courts, used towards sundry learned and godly Ministers and Preachers of this Realm, by way of Inquisition, Subscription and binding Absolution, contrary (he said) to the Honour of God, the Regality of her Majesty, the Laws of this Realm, and the Liberty of the Subjects of the same; compelling them, upon their own Oaths, to accuse themselves in their own private Actions, Words and Thoughts, if they shall take such Oaths, because they know not to what Questions they shall answer till after the Time they be sworn; and also after such Examination proceed against them by Deprivation, Degradation or Suppression, upon such their own Accusations of themselves. And if they refuse to take such Oath, then they commit them to Prison, and there keep and detain them at their own Pleasure, not absolving or releasing them until they shall first have taken a corporal Oath of their Canonical Obedience to their Ordinaries. And shewing further at large, the great Inconvenience thereby grown unto the free Subjects of this Realm, doth in the End pray a Consultation to be had therein by this House, for Redress of the said Enormities; and offereth unto Mr. Speaker two Bills, the one concerning the said Inquisitions, Subscriptions and Offering of Oaths, and the other concerning the Imprisonments upon their Refusal of the said Oaths; praying that the said latter Bill which concerneth

Debate on a Motion for a Bill to reform the Abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts,

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Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3. the said Imprisonments might be read, and the other to be offered to this House at some other more convenient Time.'

Mr. *Dalton* (a) answer'd to the following Effect,
 ' This Bill pretends great Things in Shew, tending to
 ' the Hindrance of God's Service, and the Deroga-
 ' tion of her Majesty's Prerogative, to the Over-
 ' throw of our Laws and Violating of our Liber-
 ' ties: Things, I say, great in Shew, but no such
 ' Things to be found in the Matter spoke against.
 ' It is easy to make of a Mole-Hill a Mountain in
 ' Words, so by a well compiled Speech to make a
 ' great and dangerous Thing of nothing; nay, a
 ' Thing indeed needless, for that the State hath
 ' hitherto always stood upon this Government.
 ' And so he shewed how Ecclesiastical Government
 ' was distinct from Temporal. The Reasons he
 ' gave were few or none; only his great Dislike
 ' was, that having received strait Commandment
 ' from her Majesty, not to meddle with Things
 ' concerning the Reformation of the Church and
 ' State of this Realm, therefore in his Opinion
 ' the Bill ought to be suppressed.'

Sir *John Woolley* spake also against the Bill,
 ' Disallowing the Matters in it: And taking it as
 ' too busy a Medling in such a Thing so forbidden
 ' by her Majesty, so he thought it not fit that it
 ' should be read.'

Sir *Francis Knowles* answer'd, ' That whereas it
 ' was condemned as seeking the Overthrow of a
 ' Member of the State, and so against the Law;
 ' it tended, in his Opinion, but, to the Reforming
 ' of Abuses, and so Restraining of the Prelates, that
 ' if they meddle against the Laws, they shall in-
 ' cur a *Praemunire*. So that he thought the Bill to
 ' be good and fit to be read.'

Dr. *Lewen* answer'd Mr. *Morrice*. He endea-
 ' vour'd to shew, ' That as the natural Body was
 de-

(a) Author of *The Country Justice: A Book of known Charac-
 ter in the Law*,

'delighted in Change, so was it also in the politic
 'Body, greedy of Alteration. That this Everfion
 'of Bishops had long been sought for; and in
 'shooting at their Jurisdiction, their Aim was at
 'their Places; as being no more able to stand the
 'one without the other, than a House without a
 'Foundation. Then he entred into a Discourse of
 'Government, as Monarchies, Aristocracies and
 'Democracies. He approv'd the Monarchies; and,
 'in the most famous Monarchies in the World,
 'shewed this Government now exercised by the
 'Bishops to have been used. He endeavoured to
 'prove the Bishops to be such a Part of the Body
 'Politic, as without them it could be no Body.
 'And in comparing it with the State of the natu-
 'ral Body, he termed the Prince and the Coun-
 'sellors of the State to be as the Senses, and as
 'the Head; the Bishops and Ministers as the
 'Shoulders and Arms; the common People the
 'Legs. Now to take away the Shoulders from
 'the Body, were as great a Blemish and Prejudice
 'as to have the Fingers tied unto the Shoulders.
 'Then came he to three Parts of Mr. *Merrice's*
 'Speech, *Inquisition*, *Subscription*, and *binding Ab-*
 '*solution*. *Inquisition* he proved lawful; First, Be-
 'cause it had been so long used, and in the greatest
 'Monarchies allowed. For before *Inquisition*
 'came in, the Manner of Tryal was by Accusa-
 'tion, and then the Party accusing was to suffer
 'the Penalty that the Law inflicted upon the Party
 'accused, if he failed in his Accusation. Then
 'it might be that the Party accused, if the Accu-
 'ser failed in his Accusation, might solicit two
 'Witnesses to answer for him, which was sufficient
 'to acquit him: So the guilty escaped, and the
 'guiltless Accuser was punished. This seeming
 'grievous, they changed their Tryals into Inquisi-
 'tions. And whosoever reads *Demosthenes* and
 '*Tully*, shall see how unwillingly they were hired
 'to accuse. And if we look into the Laws of
 'this Realm, it is altogether by Inquisitions in
 'Courts Baron, Leets, and in the King's Courts,
 'and

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‘and in the Star-Chamber. So that this Course
‘is as lawful in the Ecclesiastical as in the Tem-
‘poral Law. *Subscription* was a Thing we were
‘bound unto by Statute. The like was used in
‘our Churches as at *Geneva*, so as allowable here.
‘*Absolution*, termed *Binding*, is no other than in
‘the Common Law; for in the Writ *de Excom-*
‘*municato capiendo*, the Party absolved is to be
‘sworn *ad servandum Jus*, and his Oath to per-
‘form the Law in this Absolution is not grievous:
‘Whereas otherwise the Party accused was to find
‘Pledges for the same. Nay, it is a Liberty to
‘him, when upon his Oath he may be freed.
‘And so as to the Bill, he thought it fittest that
‘it should be first considered of by the Bishops and
‘Judges of the Realm before it were read.’

Mr. *Henry Finch* spoke to the same Purpose. And
then Mr. *Oliver St John* spoke for the Bill. ‘It hath
‘been the Manner of this House to allow a Mix-
‘ture in speaking, and after the Grave, Honour-
‘able and Wisest, then to hear the Meanest also.
‘For myself, I am but young, yet will I shew
‘unto you Matter which is old. In Answer to
‘them that spake last, the antient Charter of this
‘Realm says, *Nullus liber Homo*, &c. which is
‘flatly violated by Bishops Jurisdiction. You
‘know what Things *Thomas Becket* stood upon
‘against the King, which Things are now also
‘crept in. And for more full Answer of one that
‘spake before, his Antiquity and Prescription can-
‘not be allowed in this Government for any Rea-
‘son; for so were the Official Prostitutes to take
‘and exact Fees, because Time out of Mind they
‘had done so; and set it down that it was an-
‘swered in the Parliament House, That Thieves
‘may prescribe to take Purfes on *Shooters-Hill*, be-
‘cause Time out of Mind they had done so.

‘For that of *Inquisition*, it seems to him (spe-
‘cially) that spake last, to be allowed before that
‘Tryal by Accusation: First, By reason of the
‘Antiquity of the Tryal. But it cannot be proved
‘so

‘ so ancient as the Manner of Tryals by Accusa-
 ‘ tions. For in *John*, the adulterous Woman be-
 ‘ ing brought to *Christ*, he asked who were her
 ‘ Accusers? And for that Manner of Accufation,
 ‘ the Lawyers themselves speak against it; for one
 ‘ faith of it, *Ut libere fatear quod sentiam, nun-*
 ‘ *quam mihi placebat.* For *Subscription*, the Statute
 ‘ alledged is meant but a Subscription to certain
 ‘ Articles in Religion, and not a Subscription in
 ‘ this Form. And because it is allowed in *Geneva*,
 ‘ so to allow it here, that is no Reason. For in
 ‘ *Geneva* there be many Things allowed, which
 ‘ the Party speaking would, I dare say, be loth to
 ‘ have used here. As to *Absolution*, there is no
 ‘ such Oath to be required therein in our Writ *de*
 ‘ *Excommunicato capiendo*, as was said. So I think
 ‘ the Bill very worthy and fit to be read.’

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Sir *Robert Cecil* answer’d, ‘ I am unwilling to
 ‘ speak, yea, I speak against my Will; and to an-
 ‘ swer Speeches well studied and premeditated upon
 ‘ the sudden, it is hard for me. What the Bill
 ‘ containeth, I am ignorant of; and whether to
 ‘ allow of it or not, I will suspend my Opinion.
 ‘ To say the Truth, the Man that offered it was
 ‘ learned and wise, and one whom I love; yet a
 ‘ Bill to be offered and inforced in this Sort, being
 ‘ of such Effect, I know not how to allow of it.
 ‘ For her Majesty had straitly forbidden to meddle
 ‘ in such Cafes; yet not forgetting the Cause, she
 ‘ had, in her Excellent Wisdom, cared and intend-
 ‘ ed that a Redress should be had of Things that
 ‘ are amiss. To which End her Majesty, before
 ‘ the Parliament summoned, had directed her Let-
 ‘ ters to the Archbishops to certify her.

‘ Now her Highness’s Care for our Good shall
 ‘ be prevented, by our hasty Speaking of these
 ‘ Things before our Time. Sure it is not fit, and
 ‘ her Majesty cannot but be offended at it. For
 ‘ the Bill, I protest, I know it not; but it seem-
 ‘ eth to contain Things needful. Wherefore it
 ‘ were fittest it should be commended to her Ma-
 ‘ jesty,

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‘ jesty, and so recommended unto us. And if I
‘ may do this Office and Service for the House, I
‘ will in all dutiful Love and Service do it. But
‘ if the other Courſe be taken, I fear the Things
‘ ſought will be denied for the Violence uſed in it.’

Then Mr. Speaker ſaid, ‘ In Favour and free
‘ Love, above my Merits or Deſert, you have
‘ elected me, which ſhould bind me to do all my
‘ beſt Service, and to be faithful toward you. This
‘ Bill delivered me is long, and containeth impor-
‘ tant Matters of great Weight, and ſuch Matters
‘ as cannot be expreſſed in few Words. It hath
‘ many Parts, and if you put me preſently to open
‘ it, I cannot ſo readily underſtand it, and do it
‘ as I ſhould; for indeed it is a Matter far above
‘ my ordinary Practice: And to deliver a Thing
‘ before I conceive it, I could not. Wherefore, if
‘ it would pleaſe you to give me leave to conſider
‘ of it, I proteſt, I will be faithful, and keep it
‘ with all Secrecy.’

Which is laid
aſide, to avoid
offending the
Queen.

‘ Hereupon the Houſe was in Queſtion, whether
it ſhould be committed to the Speaker only, or to
the Privy-Council and him: But it was holden to
be againſt the Order of the Houſe, that any Bill
ſhould be committed before it was read. There-
fore, upon a Motion made by Mr. *Wroth*, it was
agreed, that Mr. Speaker ſhould have it.’

Debate on the Bill
relating to Recu-
ſants.

The ſame Day, in a Debate on the Bill relating to
Recuſants, Mr *Nathaniel Bacon* ſaid, ‘ The Children
‘ might not be committed to the Biſhop of the
‘ Dioceſe, becauſe their Chancellors are ſo much
‘ affected to the Canon Law, that ſome are in-
‘ ſected with Popiſh Religion. Beſides, the Office
‘ of Biſhops is to preach; and this Duty in the
‘ one Calling ſhould not be hindered by other
‘ Affairs committed to their Care. Wherefore
‘ fitter it is, that the Juſtices of Aſſize ſhould
‘ have the Appointment of them.

Sir *Edward Stafford*. ‘ It may be the Party is
‘ Enemy to him to whom the Child is committed,
‘ there-

‘ therefore the Commitment ought to be by two Queen Elizabeth.
‘ or three.’ 1592-3.

Mr *Wroth* said, ‘ The Law hath no Proviso for
‘ Leases, nor Remedy is appointed, as by the Dis-
‘ tress or otherwise, how the Guardian is to come
‘ by the Money appointed to him for the Custody
‘ of the Child of a Recusant. And it were fit to
‘ make a Proviso that no Party, being next Heir
‘ to the Child, should be his Guardian. And the
‘ Recusant not to forfeit Ten Pounds a Month
‘ for the Keeping of his Wife; otherwise for
‘ keeping of Servants Recusants.’ After all these
Speeches, it was agreed to commit the Bill to all
of the Privy Council and many other Members.

On the 28th of *February*, the Chancellor of the
Exchequer reported from the Committee, that they
had considered of the Supply, and had agreed that
two entire Subsidies, and four Fifteenths and Tenths,
should be granted to her Majesty, if the House
should think fit. Upon which the Question was
put, and it was agreed by the whole House that
the said Supply should be granted. Then Mr *Nathan-
iel Bacon*, one of the Committee, informed
the House that it was also agreed by them, That
the present Necessities of the State, moving them
to grant the said double Taxes, might be entered
in the Bill.

Sir *Henry Knivett* spoke next, ‘ Allowing the
‘ Subsidies, but withal desired these Things: First, Further Debate
on the Supply.
‘ That it might be lawful for every Subject to
‘ annoy the King of *Spain* that would, that weak
‘ Forces might not be spent against him, but a
‘ Royal Army. That we should not wrestle
‘ with him on our own Ground, but Abroad.
‘ Further, that all her Majesty’s Debtors might
‘ be called in, and her Majesty to have Power to
‘ sell all the Debtors Lands, of what Estate soever
‘ they were seized of. No Steward or Commissio-
‘ ner but to answer her Majesty the Royal Fines
‘ and

Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3. ' and Sums they received. All her Woods to be
 ' viewed, and the great Timber to be for Sale,
 ' the Copy-Wood to be sold to encrease the Reve-
 ' nues. Licences granted to any to have Benefit
 ' of penal Statutes, to be taken in; and the whole
 ' Benefit of Inns and Alehouses to come to the
 ' Queen. By this new Statute against Recusants,
 ' their Children to be committed to Persons of
 ' sound Religion. The whole Benefit of their
 ' Relief and Living to come to the Queen, deduct-
 ' ing only Charges for Education of Children.

Serjeant *Harris* agreed on the Subsidy, ' Because
 ' Parliaments were seldom, whereas by the Statute
 ' of 4 *Edward III.* they may be called every Year.
 ' The Subsidies to be granted to maintain Wars;
 ' but whether it be War or no War; as yet we
 ' know not: And the Things which we take from
 ' the *Spaniard* is doubted by many not to be lawful
 ' Prize. Therefore desires in the Subsidies to have
 ' it set down, that those Subsidies be to maintain a
 ' War impulsive and defensive against the *Spaniard.*'

Sir *Walter Raleigh* seconded his Speech, agreeing
 in all Things with the Serjeant, and said, ' He
 ' knew many that held it not lawful in Consci-
 ' ence, as the Time is, to take from the *Spani-*
 ' *ards*: And he knew, that if it might be lawful
 ' and open War, there would be more voluntary
 ' Hands to fight against the *Spaniard*, than the
 ' Queen should stand in Need of to send to Sea.

' After the former and other like Speeches, in
 which also some had moved, that to make the
 Wars against the King of *Spain* and his Subjects
 lawful and warrantable, it should be inserted into
 the Preamble of the said Bill [That so great and
 extraordinary Supply was at this Time given for
 the resisting of his Power and preventing of his
 Malice] it was ordered ' That a Committee, consist-
 ing of all the Serjeants at Law, and several other
 Members, be appointed to draw the Articles and
 Preamble of the said Bill accordingly; to the End
 the same being considered of afterwards by this
 House

House, may be delivered by Mr Speaker to her Majesty's learned Counsel, for the framing and drawing of the said Bill.' Queen Elizabeth. 1592-3.

Notwithstanding all this, the House went on but slowly in the Matter ; occasioned by an Affair of another Nature, which will appear in the Sequel.

March 1st, the House was informed that two Messengers from the Lords attended at the Door. After being let in, they acquainted the House 'That their Lordships had sent them, to put this House in Mind of what the Lord Keeper had intimated in his Speech, on the first Day of this Parliament, concerning the Necessities of the State and Provision of Money to be made against the great and imminent Danger this Realm was threatened with from its mighty Enemies. That their Lordships expected to have heard from the Commons, about this Matter, before this Time; and therefore had omitted to do any Thing in it themselves. But now they desired this House would appoint a Committee, to confer with their Lordships about this Business, according to the antient and laudable Usage of both Houses.' On which Message a Committee was appointed accordingly, who were to confer with a certain Number of the Lords that Afternoon.

‘ The next Day Sir *Robert Cecill*, one of the Committees appointed by this House for Conference with the Committees of the Lords, shewed
‘ That he and the Residue of the Committees of
‘ this House did Yesterday, in the Afternoon, repair
‘ unto the said Committees of the Lords at the
‘ Place appointed, where the Lord Treasurer of
‘ *England*, in the Name of the Residue of the said
‘ Committees of the Lords, shewed unto the
‘ Committees of this House the great and present
‘ Need of Provision of Treasure to be employed
‘ for the Defence of the Realm against
‘ the Invasion of the great and mighty Enemies
‘ unto this Realm and State ; and shewing further,
‘ that the double *Subsidy* and *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*
‘ lastly

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‘ lastly granted unto her Majesty, amounting but
 ‘ unto two hundred and fourscore thousand Pounds,
 ‘ her Majesty hath nevertheless, in these Defensive
 ‘ Wars, expended of her own Treasure alone,
 ‘ ten hundred and thirty thousand Pounds since the
 ‘ Time of the granting of the said double *Subsidy*
 ‘ and of the said *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*. And that
 ‘ therefore their Lordships, weighing the great pre-
 ‘ sent Necessity of greater and more speedy Supply
 ‘ of Treasure to be had than two entire *Subsidies*
 ‘ and four *Fifteenths*, do negatively affirm, that
 ‘ their Lordships will not give, in any wise, their
 ‘ Assents to pass any Act in their House of less
 ‘ than three entire Subsidies, to be paid in the three
 ‘ next Years, at two Payments in every of the
 ‘ same Years; the first to begin soon after the next
 ‘ *Easter*, and the second soon after the next *Michaelmas*,
 ‘ and so yearly after *Easter* and *Michaelmas* during the said three Years. And that as to
 ‘ what Proportion of Benevolence, or unto how
 ‘ much their Lordships would give their Assents in
 ‘ that Behalf, they would not as then shew unto
 ‘ the said Committees of this House. But insisting
 ‘ for Conference again to be had, he further urged,
 ‘ that this House might be moved to yield a greater
 ‘ Supply. To which End he alledged, that the
 ‘ usual late Subsidies were very small, and were al-
 ‘ so imposed, for the most Part, upon the meaner
 ‘ Sort of her Majesty’s Subjects; declaring, that
 ‘ he knew one Shire of this Realm, wherein there
 ‘ were many Men of good Living and Counte-
 ‘ nance, but none of them, in the said last Subsidies,
 ‘ assessed at above fourscore Pound Lands *per An-*
 ‘ *num*. And that in the City of *London* also,
 ‘ where the greatest Part of the Riches of the
 ‘ Realm are, there was no one assessed at above
 ‘ two hundred Pound Goods a Man, and that
 ‘ not yet past above four or five such.’ Which
 ‘ Speech, in Effect, being ended, ‘ He, in Con-
 ‘ clusion, referred the further Consideration there-
 ‘ of to the Gravity of the House.’

Mr

Mr Francis Bacon, as soon as Sir Robert Cecil Queen Elizabeth.
1592-3. had made an End of the former Report of the Business, spoke next. ‘He yielded to the Subsidy, but disliked that this House should join with the Upper House in the Granting of it. For the Custom and Privilege of this House hath always been, first to make Offer of the Subsidies from hence, then to the Upper House; except it were that they present a Bill unto this House, with Desire of our Assent thereto, and then to send it up again. And Reason it is, that we should stand upon our Privilege, seeing the Burthen resteth upon us, as the greatest Number; nor is it Reason the Thanks should be theirs. And in joining with them in this Motion, we shall derogate from ours; for the Thanks will be theirs, and the Blame ours, they being the first Movers.

Which, being reported, occasions great Debates.

‘Wherefore I wish, that, in this Action, we should proceed, as heretofore we have done, apart by ourselves, and not join with their Lordships. And to satisfy them, who expect an Answer from us To-morrow, some Answer should be made in obsequious and dutiful Manner.’

Then out of his Bosom he drew an Answer, framed by himself, to this Effect; ‘That they had considered of their Lordships Motion, and thought upon it as was fit; and, in all Willingness, would address themselves to do as so great a Cause deserved. To join with them, he said, he could not, but with Prejudice to the Privilege of the said House. Wherefore he desired, as they were wont, so that now they might proceed herein by themselves, apart from their Lordships; and that they might do it without Discontent. To this Purpose he cited a Precedent in Henry VIIIth’s Time (b), where Cardinal Wolsey came down into the House of Commons, and informed them what Necessity there was of a Subsidy; and that thereupon the House took it to Consideration, apart by themselves, and at large

(b) See the Proceedings hereupon, in Vol. III. p. 29 et seq.

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‘ large granted it. By which it should seem that
 ‘ he did infer, that the Lords might indeed give
 ‘ Notice unto the said House of Commons, what
 ‘ Need or Danger there was, but ought not to
 ‘ prescribe them what to give, as at the Meeting
 ‘ of the Committee the Lord Treasurer had done.’

‘ Whereupon the House order’d, that the former
 Committee should meet again in the Afternoon.
 And being met accordingly, great Part thereof was
 spent in arguing what the Matter was which was re-
 ferred unto them by the House; whether a Subsidy
 should be yielded, and that signified for an Answer
 from them to the Lords: Or whether the Com-
 mittees were only to consider of an Answer accord-
 ing to Mr *Bacon’s* Motion, ‘ That this House
 would alone, by themselves, consider of the Sub-
 sidy, without joining.’

These following spake for the Subsidy, especially
 enforcing the Necessity of it.

Sir *William Moore* shewed, first, ‘ That her
 ‘ Majesty had more Cause to have the Subsidy than
 ‘ had *H. VIII. E. VI.* or *Queen Mary*; for *Hen-*
 ‘ *ry’s* Wars continued not, tho’ they were violent for
 ‘ the Time. His Wars were impulsive and not de-
 ‘ fensive. He had the Suppression of all the Ab-
 ‘ bies, a Matter of great Riches unto him. He
 ‘ had a Benevolence, and then a Subsidy, paid with-
 ‘ in three Months. *Edward VI.* had Chuntries, and
 ‘ all the Church-Plate, for Relief, paid him. *Queen*
 ‘ *Mary* had a Relief paid her, which she never re-
 ‘ paid. But her Majesty that now is, hath been a
 ‘ continual Defence of her own Realm and her
 ‘ Neighbour’s Kingdoms, *England, Ireland, France,*
 ‘ and the *Low Countries*; yet hath she repaid the
 ‘ Loans, and had not such Helps.

Sir *George Carey* said, ‘ I speak for the Subsidy,
 ‘ (first answering one that had said, ‘ We must
 ‘ regard them and their Estates for whom we are
 ‘ here)’ saying, he regarded and came for them as
 ‘ was meet; and they will more thank us for tak-
 ‘ ing somewhat from them, than if we should a-
 ‘ bandon

‘ bandon them and leave them and all that they
 ‘ have to the Spoil of the Enemy; which will be,
 ‘ if, with our Forces, we provide not to withstand
 ‘ them. For imminent Dangers hang over our
 ‘ Heads, and are intended to us this Summer.
 ‘ The *Spaniard* already hath sent seven thousand
 ‘ Pistoles of Gold into *Scotland*, to corrupt the No-
 ‘ bility; and, to the King, twenty thousand
 ‘ Crowns now lately were dispatch’d, out of *France*,
 ‘ into *Scotland*, for the Levying of three thousand,
 ‘ which the *Scottish* Lords have promised; and
 ‘ the King of *Spain* will levy thirty thousand more,
 ‘ and give them all Pay. Her Majesty is deter-
 ‘ mined to send Sir *Francis Drake* to Sea, to en-
 ‘ counter them with a great Navy. Wherefore
 ‘ this our Danger is to be prevented, and those her
 ‘ Majesty’s infinite Charges by us to be supplied.’

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Sir *Walter Raleigh* spake for the Subsidy, not only
 (as he protested) to please the Queen, to whom
 he was infinitely bound above his Deserts, but for
 the Necessity he both saw and knew. ‘ He very
 ‘ well discovered the great Strength of the King of
 ‘ *Spain*. And, to shew his Mightiness, he told
 ‘ how he possessed all the World. As also, that
 ‘ his Malice and Ill Purpose was evident to this
 ‘ Realm: He shewed how, on every Side, he had
 ‘ beleaguered us.

‘ In *Denmark*, the King being young, he had
 ‘ corrupted the Council and Nobility, so as he
 ‘ was very like to speed himself of Shipping from
 ‘ thence. In the Marine Towns of the *Low*
 ‘ *Countries*, and in *Norway*, he laid in great Store
 ‘ of Shipping. In *France* he had the Parliament-
 ‘ Towns at his Command. In *Britany* he had all
 ‘ the best Havens. And in *Scotland* he had so cor-
 ‘ rupted the Nobility, that he had promised them
 ‘ Forces to re-establish *Papistry*. That they were
 ‘ ready to join with any foreign Forces that would
 ‘ make them Strong, to be by themselves, and to
 ‘ resist others. For, as he thought there were not
 ‘ six Gentlemen of that Country of one Religion.

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‘ In his own Country there is all possible Repair-
ing, and he is coming with sixty Gallies, besides
‘ other Shipping, with Purpose to annoy us. We
‘ must then have no Ships (if he invade us) riding
‘ at Anchor ; all will be little enough to with-
‘ stand him. At his Coming, he fully determineth
‘ to get *Plsmouth*, or at least to possess some of the
‘ Havens, this Summer, within our Land. And
‘ *Plsmouth* is a Place of most Danger, for no Ord-
‘ nance can be carried thither to remove him ; the
‘ Passages will not give Leave. Now the Way
‘ to defeat him is this, To send a Royal Army to
‘ supplant him in *Britany*, and to possess ourselves
‘ there ; and to send a strong Navy to Sea, and
‘ to lie with it upon the *Cape* and such Places as
‘ his Ships bring his Riches to, that they may set
‘ upon all that come. This we are able to do,
‘ and undoubtedly with fortunate Success, if we
‘ undertake it.’

To make this Matter as short as possible, and not omit any material Argument,—The Committee, for considering of an Answer to be given to the Lords, on their last Message, came to this Resolution, ‘ That it was the Opinion of the Majority
‘ to grant another Conference with the Lords, if
‘ the House should think fit.’

But Mr *Wroth*, one of the said Committee, stood up and said, ‘ That he dissented from the Question,
‘ and neither gave his Assent in the Committee, nor
‘ would now do it, that any Conference should be
‘ had with the Lords in this Case. For, that, in
‘ his Opinion, the same would be very prejudicial
‘ to the antient Liberties and Privileges of this
‘ House, and to its Authority.’

Mr *Beale*, another Member, seconded Mr *Wroth*, ‘ He insisted upon their Maintenance of the
‘ usual and antient Liberties and Privileges of this
‘ House in treating of Subsidies, Contributions, and
‘ other like Benevolences, among themselves ; with-
‘ out any Conference therein at all had or used
‘ with the Lords of the Higher House : And gave
‘ an

an Instance of a former Precedent in the like Case; Queen Elizabeth.
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and offered to shew that the same Precedent to
this House, was followed in the 9th of *Hén. 4.*
The two Houses being divided about the Subsidy,
and the Higher House desiring a greater Subsidy
than was granted by the Lower House; hereupon
twelve, that were sent as Committees to the
Lords; came down, and informed what was de-
sired by the Upper House; namely a greater Sub-
sidy; and, to that End, Conference to be had
with them of the House of Commons. The
Commons thought themselves grieved therewith;
and so returned their Answer, That they would
consider what was meet to be done in so general a
Matter, but thought the Conference a Derogation
to the Privilege of the House. Hereupon the
King answered, That he could not, neither was
it fit, to violate the Privilege of his Commons, but
in all Things he thought it just to prefer them.

The Court-Party were very earnest for this
Conference. Sir *Robert Cecil* spoke again. 'He put
the House in Mind of the great and urgent Ne-
cessity, for the speedy Prevention and Avoiding of
the great and imminent Perils and Dangers of this
Realm and State, to be effected both by Consul-
tation and also by Provision of Treasure; and
thinketh good that Conference of this House
were had with the Lords; as a Matter very be-
hoofful: Especially for that their Lordships,
some of them being of her Majesty's Privy-Coun-
cil, do know both the Purposes and Strength of
the Enemies on the one Side, and also her Maje-
sty's present Store of Treasure, more or less, on
the other Side, much better than those of this
House do. Resolveith, for his own Opinion, still
to give his Consent, That Conference be had
therein with the Lords, by the Committees of this
House; according to their Lordship's said former
Motion and Request for the same.'

Sir *William Brunker* stood up, and, 'He recit-
ing the said great present Necessity of Consultati-

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on and Provision, and that it cannot be otherwise, but that the Proportion of convenient Supply of Treasure, answerable to the Greatness of the Dangers which are imminent, must needs require a greater Mass of Treasure to be had, than hath been as yet treated of in any Resolution by this House.' Then the Speaker put the Question, For a Conference or not? And, on a Division of the House, it was carried, in the *Negative*, 217 against 128.

After this, it was thought proper to appoint a Committee to wait upon the Lords, and acquaint them with their last Resolution, in as soft Terms as possible. Who, returning, made Report, That their Lordships well hoped that this House would have granted their Request. However, they desired the Commons to take due Care for a speedy and a proper Supply, according to the pressing Necessity of the State: And to see these Precedents on which the Conference was denied.

But this Matter was again resumed the next Day, *March* 5th. at which Time the aforesaid Mr. Beale stood up and desired to satisfy the House, By reason it was conceived by the Lords the other Day, that upon his Motion, and by his Precedent shewed, the House was led to deny a Conference with the Lords, he acknowledged he had mistaken the Question propounded. For there being but a Conference desired by the Lords, and no Confirming of any Thing they had done, he thought we might, and it was fit we should confer. And to this End only, he shewed the Precedent, That in the 9th Year of *Henry IV.* the Commons having granted a Subsidy, which the Lords thought too little, and they agreed to a greater, and would have the Commons to confirm that which they had done; this the Commons thought they could not do without Prejudice to this House. Wherefore he acknowledged himself mistaken in the Question, and desired if any were led by him, to be satisfied, for that he would have been of another
Opi-

‘ Opinion if he had conceived the Matter as it was ^{Queen Elizabeth.}
‘ meant.’ ^{1592-3.}

Sir *Thomas Heneage* ‘ propounded the Question
‘ anew, and thought that with the Privilege of
‘ the House, and by Precedents to be shewed, there
‘ had been Conference with the Lords used upon
‘ the like Motion.’

Sir *John Wolley* thought, ‘ That the former De-
‘ nial grew upon mistaking of the Question, and
‘ upon better Consideration would have the Mat-
‘ ter reversed, and now to assent to that which
‘ was denied before.’

Sir *Henry Knivett* moved, ‘ That for the Free-
‘ dom of the House, it might be concluded a-
‘ mongst them, a Matter answerable at the Bar,
‘ for any Man to report any Thing of any Speech
‘ used, or Matters done in this House.’

Sir *Henry Upton* spake ‘ in Defence of the for-
‘ mer Proceedings of the House, and shewed how
‘ it had proceeded; first, agreeing to a double *Sub-*
‘ *sidy* and *four Fifteenths*; this being offered, and
‘ the Lords thinking it seemed little, and consider-
‘ ing the present Necessity, the Lack of Payment
‘ of Subsidies, and the true Rating of Subsidies
‘ over that they were wont to be, they desired a
‘ Conference with the Lower House, giving Rea-
‘ sons of great Importance for a greater Aid; and
‘ they gave us a Taste of what was needful, as
‘ three *Subsidies* at the least; and upon those great
‘ Causes desired a Conference the next Day. This
‘ being delivered unto the House by one of the
‘ Committees sent to the Lords, the House upon
‘ Consideration thought it not to stand with their
‘ Privilege to confer with their Lordships in Mat-
‘ ter of Subsidies, because it was the Liberty of
‘ the House to make Offer themselves to her Ma-
‘ jesty. And in regard it stood not with the Pri-
‘ vilege of this House to confer with the Lords,
‘ hereupon they advise upon an Answer to be
‘ made unto the Lords, wherein they should give
‘ them Thanks that they had vouchsafed to con-

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‘fer with them of this House; but shewed, that
‘with the Privilege of the House they could not
‘have Conference with them in Matter of
‘*Subsidy*.

‘Further he thought the House much injured,
‘that they should be reported to be against the
‘*Subsidy*; and the Parties injured, who speaking
‘the last Day against the *Subsidy*, their Names
‘were given up, and were noted for it to the
‘Queen.

‘And now my Motion is, that we must con-
‘fer with the Lords upon the *Subsidy*, but not in
‘any sort to be conformed therein unto them.
‘And for that Occasion past, he desired that Mr.
‘Speaker might be sent and report the Truth of
‘the whole Matter and Manner of our Proceed-
‘ings.’

Sir Robert Cecil spake next and said, ‘I de-
‘fire now I may be somewhat long, because I
‘must include an Answer to three Speeches.
‘Those two honourable Persons that sit above,
‘the one of them declared the true State of the
‘Question, the other what was fit we should do.
‘But my Answer shall tend only to those Tales
‘that followed. The first was a kind of Satisfac-
‘tion for a former Mistaking; but in the same Sa-
‘tisfaction, a new Mistaking was also; which was
‘by way of Information, casting it into the House,
‘that the Queen should seem to demand three
‘*Subsidies*. Now the Queen never demanded
‘three, nor one. So there is a new Mistaking
‘added to the former Satisfaction.

‘The second Man’s Motion thus far I allow,
‘That the Counsel of this House be secretly kept,
‘and that nothing be reported *in malam partem*:
‘But if his Meaning be, that we may not im-
‘part any Thing that is done here unto the Queen,
‘but that all Things must be secret from her, I
‘am altogether against it. This only I should de-
‘fire, what ought to be observed, That nothing
‘ought to be reported unto her *in malam partem*.
‘The

‘ The third Man’s Motion consisted of three Queen Elizabeth, 1592-3.
 ‘ Points. The first was News, the second was
 ‘ History, and the third and last a Motion. His
 ‘ News was, that Men’s Names were given up to
 ‘ the Queen. This was News. For I heard it
 ‘ not before. The History was a large Report of
 ‘ the Progress of this Matter. His Motion was,
 ‘ that we should confer with the Lords about a
 ‘ *Subsidy*, but not conclude a *Subsidy* with them.
 ‘ His Manner seems contrary to his Meaning, or
 ‘ else is more than ever was meant; for it was ne-
 ‘ ver desired of us by the Lords, that we should
 ‘ confer with them about a *Subsidy*.’

‘ Sir *Walter Raleigh* spake next and moved,
 ‘ That seeing the Division of the House the last
 ‘ Day grew, as he conceived, upon the Mistaking
 ‘ of the Question; and that since some had report-
 ‘ ed unto him, that had the Question been pro-
 ‘ pounded, Whether they should only yield to a
 ‘ Conference in general with the Lords, they
 ‘ would not have been against it; therefore he de-
 ‘ fired Mr. Speaker to put it to the Question,
 ‘ Whether they should confer with the Lords ge-
 ‘ nerally or not, without naming a *Subsidy*?’ This
 Motion being well liked, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was
 desired by the House, to repeat it again, that so
 it might be the better heard of them all. And
 thereupon he said, ‘ That touching the aforesaid
 ‘ Question which had received a *No* upon *Saturday*
 ‘ last foregoing, he would not make it a Question
 ‘ again, for by the Order of the House he could
 ‘ not; but propounded this for a new Question in
 ‘ these or the like Words, Whether the House would
 ‘ be pleased to have general Conference with the
 ‘ Lords, touching the great and imminent Dangers
 ‘ of the Realm and State, and the present necessa-
 ‘ ry Supply of Treasure to be provided speedily for
 ‘ the same, according to the Proportion of the
 ‘ Necessity?’ Which said Question being pro-
 pounded unto the House, it was assented unto
 ‘ accor-

Queen Elizabeth. accordingly by them all without any negative
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Whereupon the former Committee, appointed for Conference with the Lords, were presently sent up to acquaint their Lordships of this last Resolution. Who appointed the next Day, in the Afternoon, for the Conference. On that Day, before the Meeting, the Commons went upon this Affair again; and, after many more Speeches and Altercations, a subsequent Resolution was agreed to by the whole House; That their Committee should have Authority to confer with that of the Lords, in a general Way, concerning Dangers and Remedies to be provided against: But not in any Way to conclude or resolve on any thing in the said Conference, particularly; without the farther Privy and Assent of the whole House, on the Report to be made to them of their Proceedings. One of the Speeches, made on the Occasion of this Resolution, is too remarkable to be omitted.

Mr *Fulk Grevile* said, ‘ There are two Scruples
‘ in this House, which I would gladly satisfy; the
‘ one the Privilege of the House, the other the Po-
‘ verty of the People. For Precedents they are
‘ but Examples of Things past. Now every Ex-
‘ ample ought to be stronger than the Thing we
‘ fear: For if the Thing be otherwise, and our
‘ Necessity greater, the former Doings are no
‘ Rules to us. And so Precedents as they are not
‘ to be rejected, so they ought not to be eternal.
‘ For the Poverty of our Country, we have no
‘ Reason to think it poor; our Sumptuousness in
‘ Apparel, in Plate, and in all Things, argueth our
‘ Riches. And our Dearth of every Thing
‘ amongst us, sheweth Plenty of Money. But, it
‘ is said, our Countries are poor, and we must re-
‘ spect them that sent us hither. Why, so we must
‘ also remember who call’d us hither. This Cause
‘ is hard; for there is Necessity against Necessity,
‘ Danger against Danger, and inward Discontent
‘ against outward Forces. The Poor are grieved
‘ by

‘ by being over-charged ; this must be helped by in-
 ‘ creasing our own Burthen ; for otherwise the
 ‘ weak Feet will complain of too heavy a Body ;
 ‘ that is to be feared. If the Feet knew their
 ‘ Strength as well as we know their Oppression,
 ‘ they would not bear as they do. But to answer
 ‘ them, it sufficeth that the Time requireth it :
 ‘ And in a Prince Power will command. To sa-
 ‘ tisfy them, they cannot think we overcharge them,
 ‘ when we charge ourselves with them and above
 ‘ them : But if nothing will satisfy them, our Do-
 ‘ ings are sufficient to bind them. If the Multitudes
 ‘ of Parliaments be remembred heretofore, many
 ‘ Subsidies now in one Parliament cannot seem
 ‘ burthenfome. The more Laws we make, the
 ‘ less Liberty we have to ourselves. And now
 ‘ one Word for myself, if my Speech hath offen-
 ‘ ded, excuse me, I will not often trouble you here-
 ‘ after.’

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It was not till the 22d Day of *March*, that the Commons brought the Matter to a Conclusion ; and then the Bill for a Grant of *three entire Subsidies* and *six Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, was read a third Time and passed upon the Question.

The Subsidy-Bill
 pass'd, with a
 remarkable Pre-
 amble.

But yet the House thought fit not to let this Bill go without a Preamble to it, remarkable enough to deserve our Notice ; this our Historian hath given us, which we shall insert in his own Words (c).

‘ When they had closely debated and weigh-
 ed how earnestly the Enemies of our Constituti-
 on were bent upon the Ruin of *England* ; having
 already subdued our confederate Forces in *France*,
Scotland, and *Holland*, and seized all the Places that
 lay convenient for annoying of *England* ; they
 thought necessary to provide proper Supplies to di-
 vert the impending Danger. Then, after bestow-
 ing large *Encomiums* on the prudent and wise Con-
 duct of a Maiden-Queen, tempered with that af-
 fectionate Care and Regard for her Subjects ; who
 had disbursed so vast a Supply from her own Trea-
 sury

(c) *Cambden in Kennet*, p. 570. — *Stow's Chron.* p. 765.

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fury to carry on a War, with good and happy Success, against an opulent and potent Enemy, as none of her Predecessors had ever done before. And all this without any burdensome Grants from her People, tho' she had Occasion not only to act on the defensive, but to assist and support her Allies. On this Account, they freely and cheerfully gave the large Supply aforementioned; but they humbly requested withal, That forasmuch as those Acts were to be kept upon Record, a *Caveat* might be entered in expresse Terms, *That those large and unusual Grants, which were made to a most excellent Princeps, on a most pressing and extraordinary Occasion, might not at any Time hereafter be drawn into a Precedent.*

But, it was not meerly the unusual Largeness of this Supply that retarded its Progress through the Commons: They were disgusted at the Court for Imprisoning four of their Members at the Beginning of this Session. There was also another Accident which increased their Discontent; and which together, made the House more backward in obliging, till these and other Grievances were redressed. We took Notice before, That so early in the Session as the 27th of *February*, the Day after the Supply was moved for, Mr. *Morrice*, Attorney of the Court of Wards, a Place under the Crown, stood up and moved the House touching the Abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts; and that the Bill was after Debate deliver'd to the Speaker's Care, to prevent giving Offence to the Queen: But the Matter did not rest here.—For,

A Message from the Queen by the Speaker, forbidding the Commons to meddle with the State or the Church,

In the Afternoon of the same Day the Speaker was sent for to Court; and, on the next, he stood up and said, he had a Message to deliver from her Majesty to the House; which he gave in these Words:

‘ **Y**esterday a great Member of this House, after a Speech used, and his Reasons laid forth, delivered two Bills unto me; which Bills, though

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‘ though not being read, yet were diversely spoken
‘ of. They being long, and the Matters grave and
‘ of great Importance, and the Day being almost
‘ spent, I desired further Time to consider of these
‘ Bills. I humbly thank this honourable House,
‘ Time was granted me freely, it being almost
‘ Twelve of the Clock,

‘ I have perused and read both of the Bills ; I
‘ have them about me, and they have been conti-
‘ nually with me ever since they were delivered to
‘ me ; never any Man saw them, nor ever any
‘ Man’s Eye more than my own ever saw one
‘ Word of them.

‘ A little after I had perused the Bills, I was sent
‘ for by a Special Messenger from her Majesty :
‘ Coming in her Royal Presence, I was comman-
‘ ded to deliver these Words from her most ex-
‘ cellent Majesty unto the Body of the Realm (for
‘ so she termed this House :) The Matter I have
‘ to speak is great, yea it is the greatest Matter I
‘ ever had to deal in ; wherefore I pray God direct
‘ *Mentem et Linguam hanc*. I must be short, for
‘ her Majesty’s Words were not many ; and I may
‘ perhaps fail in the Delivery of them : For tho’
‘ my Auditors be great, yet who is so impudent
‘ that the Presence of such a Majesty would not
‘ appale him ? And it did greatly fear me, when I
‘ did see none of these honourable Persons, in her
‘ Presence, who were present at the Holding of the
‘ Matter in this House ; yet so God in his Provi-
‘ dence had appointed it that even in this while
‘ came in some of the Persons here present, who,
‘ if I fail in delivering what was given me in
‘ Charge, can report it unto you : And I am glad
‘ that there are Witnesses with me in this Action,
‘ what was my faithful Service for the House.

‘ I protest a greater Comfort never beset me,
‘ than that this my Integrity and faithful Promise
‘ to this House, is not violated ; for her Majesty,
‘ in her most gracious Wisdom, before my Coming,
‘ determined not to press me in this, neither in-
‘ deed did she require the Bill of me ; for this
‘ only

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‘ only she required of me, *What were the Things spoken of by the House?* which Points I only delivered, as they that heard me can tell.’

‘ The Message delivered me from her Majesty, consisteth of three Things; first, the End for which the Parliament was called. Secondly, The Speech which her Majesty used by my Lord Keeper. Thirdly, What her Pleasure and Commandment now is.

‘ For the First, *It is in me and my Power* (I speak now in her Majesty’s Person) *to call Parliaments; and it is in my Power to end and determine the same; it is in my Power to assent or dissent to any thing done in Parliament.*

‘ The Calling of this Parliament was only that the Majesty of God might be more religiously served; and those that neglect this Service might be compelled by some sharper Means to a more due Obedience, and more true Service of God, than there hath been hitherto used. And further; that the Safety of her Majesty’s Person, and of the Realm, might be by all Means provided for against our great Enemies the *Pope* and the King of *Spain*.

‘ Her Majesty’s most excellent Pleasure being then delivered unto us by the Lord-Keeper, it was not meant we should meddle with Matters of State, or in Causes Ecclesiastical; (for so her Majesty termed them.) She wondered *that any would be of so high Commandment to attempt* (I use her own Words) *a Thing contrary to that which she hath so expressly forbidden*; wherefore, with this she was highly displeased. And because the Words, then spoken by my Lord Keeper, are not now perhaps well remembered, or some be now here, that were not there; her Majesty’s present Charge and express Command is, *That no Bills touching Matters of State, or Reformation in Causes Ecclesiastical, be exhibited.* And, upon my Allegiance, I am commanded, if any such Bill be exhibited, not to read it.’

Thus

Thus the Bill was quashed, and Mr. *Morrice*, Queen Elizabeth. 1593.
the first Mover of it, being also sent for to Court,
the same Day he was committed to the Custody of
Sir *John Fortescue*, Chancellor of the Exche-
quer (d).

A Member taken
into Custody for
preferring a Bill
against the Eccle-
siastical Courts.

We purposely omit all the Debates in this House
about some less material Matters; such as Regulat-
ing Elections, Privilege from Arrests; with those
on some Bills of less public Concern; but which
are well worth the Observation of a more particu-
lar Enquirer. Not long after the Subsidy-Bill had
passed both Houses, that is on the 10th Day of
April, the Queen came to the House of Lords;
and the Commons being called up, the Speaker,
on delivering the Bills, made the following most
elaborate Speech on the Dignity and Antiquity of
Parliaments.

‘THE High Court of Parliament, most
‘High and Mighty Prince, is the greatest
‘and most antient Court within this your Realm.
‘For before the Conquest in the High Places of
‘the *West-Saxons*, we read of a Parliament holden;
‘and since the Conquest they have been holden by
‘all your noble Predecessors Kings of *England*.

The Speaker's
Speech to the
Queen at the
Close of the
Session.

‘In the Time of the *West-Saxons* a Parliament
‘was holden by the noble King *Ina*, by these
‘Words: *I Ina, King of the West-Saxons, have*
‘*caused all my Fatherhood, Aldermen and wisest*
‘*Commons, with the Godly Men of my Kingdom,*
‘*to consult of weighty Matters, &c.* Which Words
‘do plainly shew all the Parts of this High Court
‘still observed to this Day. For by King *Ina* is
‘your Majesty's most Royal Person represented.
‘The *Fatherhood*, in antient Time, were these which
‘we call Bishops, and still we call them Reverend
‘Fathers, an antient and chief Part of our State.

‘By *Aldermen* were meant your Noblemen.
‘For so honourable was the Word *Alderman* in
‘antient Time, that the Nobility only were called
‘*Aldermen*.

‘By

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‘ By *Wiseſt Commons* is meant and ſignified
‘ Knights and Burgeſſes, and ſo is your Maieſty’s
‘ Writ *de discretioribus & magis ſufficientibus*.

‘ By *Godlieſt Men* is meant your Convocation-
‘ Houſe. It conſiſteth of ſuch as are devoted to
‘ Religion. And as Godlieſt Men do conſult of
‘ weightieſt Matters, ſo is your Highneſs’s Writ
‘ at this Day *pro quibusdam arduis & urgentibus*
‘ *Negotiis, Nos, Statum & Deſenſionem Regni noſtri*
‘ *& Eccleſiæ tangentibus*.

‘ Your Highneſs’s Wiſdom and exceeding Judg-
‘ ment with all-cateful Providence needed not our
‘ Councils: But yet ſo urgent Cauſes there were
‘ of this Parliament, ſo important Conſiderations,
‘ as that we may ſay (for that we cannot judge)
‘ never Parliament was ſo needful as now, nor
‘ any ſo honourable as this.

‘ If I may be bold to ſay it, I muſt preſume to
‘ ſay that which hath been often ſaid, (but what is
‘ well ſaid cannot be too often ſpoken) this ſweet
‘ Council of ours I would compare to that ſweet
‘ Commonwealth of the little Bees.

Sic enim parvis componere magna ſolebam.

‘ The little Bees have but one Governor whom
‘ they all ſerve, he is their King, *quia Latera habet*
‘ *litora*; he is placed in the Miſt of their Habi-
‘ tations, *ut in tutiſſima Turri*. They forage abroad,
‘ ſucking Honey from every Flower to bring to
‘ their King. *Ignavum Fucos Pecus à Præſepibus*
‘ *arcent*, The Drones they drive away out of their
‘ Hives, *non habentes Aculeos*. And who ſo aſſails
‘ their King, in him *immittunt Aculeos*, & *tamen*
‘ *Rex ipſe eſt ſine Aculeo*.

‘ Your Maieſty is that Princely Governor and
‘ Noble Queen, whom we all ſerve; being pro-
‘ tected under the Shadow of your Wings we live,
‘ and wiſh you may ever ſit upon your Throne
‘ over us. And whoſoever ſhall not ſay *Amen*,
‘ for them we pray *ut convertantur ne pereant*, &
‘ *ut confundantur ne noceant*. Under your happy
‘ Government we live upon Honey, we ſuck upon
‘ every

‘ every sweet Flower: But where the Bee sucketh
 ‘ Honey, there also the Spider draweth Poison.
 ‘ Some such Venoms there be. But such Drones
 ‘ and Door Bees we will expel the Hive and serve
 ‘ your Majesty, and withstand any Enemy that
 ‘ shall assault you. Our Lands, our Goods, our
 ‘ Lives are prostrate at your Feet to be command-
 ‘ ed. Yea, and (thanked be God, and Honour
 ‘ be to your Majesty for it) such is the Power and
 ‘ Force of your Subjects, that of their own Strength
 ‘ they are able to encounter your greatest Enemies.
 ‘ And though we be such, yet have we a Prince
 ‘ that is *sine Aculeo*; so full of that Clemency is
 ‘ your Majesty. I fear I have been too long, and
 ‘ therefore to come now to your Laws.

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 1593.

‘ The Laws we have conferred upon this Ses-
 ‘ sion of so honourable a Parliament are of two
 ‘ Natures; the one such as have Life but are ready
 ‘ to die, except your Majesty breathe Life into
 ‘ them again; the other are Laws that never had
 ‘ Life, but, being void of Life, do come to your
 ‘ Majesty to seek Life.

‘ The first Sort are those Laws that had Conti-
 ‘ nuances until this Parliament, and are now to
 ‘ receive new Life or are to die for ever. The
 ‘ other, that I term capable of Life, are those which
 ‘ are newly made, but have no Essence until your
 ‘ Majesty giveth them Life.

‘ Two Laws there are, but I must give the
 ‘ Honour where it is due; for they come from the
 ‘ Noble wise Lords of the Upper House; the
 ‘ most honourable and beneficial Laws that could
 ‘ be desired: The one a Confirmation of all Let-
 ‘ ters Patents, from your Majesty’s most Noble
 ‘ Father, of all Ecclesiastical Livings, which that
 ‘ King of most renowned Memory, your Father,
 ‘ took from those superstitious Monasteries and
 ‘ Priories, and translated them to the erecting and
 ‘ setting up of many Foundations of Cathedral
 ‘ Churches and Colleges, greatly furthering the
 ‘ Maintenance of Learning and true Religion.

‘ The

Queen Elizabeth.
1593.

‘ The other Law to suppress the obstinate Recusant and the dangerous Sectary, both very pernicious to your Government.

‘ Lastly, Your loving and obedient Subjects, the Commons of the Lower House, humbly and with all dutiful Thanks, stand bound unto your gracious Goodness for your general and large Pardon granted unto them, wherein many great Offences are pardoned.

‘ But it extendeth only to Offences done before the Parliament.

‘ I have many Ways, since the Beginning of this Parliament, by Ignorance and Insufficiency to perform that which I should have done, offended your Majesty; I therefore most humbly crave to be Partaker of your Majesty’s most Gracious Pardon.’

The Lord Keeper’s Answer.

The Lord Keeper, having receiv’d Instructions from the Queen, answer’d the Speaker to the following Effect:

‘ That her Majesty did most graciously accept of these Services and Devotions of this Parliament; commending them that they had employed the Time so well and spent it in so necessary Affairs, save only that in some Things they had spent more Time than needed. But she perceived that some Men did it more for their Satisfaction than the Necessity of the Thing deserved. She misliked also that such Irreverence was shewed towards Privy Counsellors, who were not to be accounted as common Knights and Burgesses of the House, that are Counsellors only during the Parliament; whereas the other are standing Counsellors, and for their Wisdom and great Service are called to the Council of the State.

‘ That the Queen’s Majesty had heard that some Men in the Cause of great Necessity, and Grant of Aid, had seemed to regard their Country, and made their Necessity more than it was; forgetting

ting the urgent Necessity of the Time, and Dangers that were now imminent. Queen Elizabeth,
1593.

That her Majesty would not have the People feared with a Report of great Dangers, but rather to be encouraged with Boldness against the Enemies of the State. And that therefore she straitly charged and commanded that the muster'd Companies in every Shire should be supplied, if they were decayed: And that their Provisions of Armour and Munition should be better than heretofore it hath been used.

That for this Offer of three Subsidies, her Majesty most graciously, in all Kindness, thanketh her Subjects: But except it were freely and willingly given, she did not accept of it; for her Majesty never accepteth any Thing that is not freely given.

That if the Coffers of her Majesty's Treasures were not empty, or if the Revenues of the Crown and other Princely Ornaments could suffice to supply her Wants and the Charges of the Realm, on the Word of a Prince she doth pronounce it, she would not have charged her Subjects, nor have accepted of this they give her.

Then, after some little Intermission, the Queen, being set in her Chair of State, spoke as follows:

THIS Kingdom hath had many Wise, Noble and Victorious Princes, I will not compare with any of them in Wisdom, Fortitude and other Virtues; but saving the Duty of a Child, that is not to compare with his Father, in Love, Care, Sincerity and Justice, I will compare with any Prince that ever you had, or shall have. It may be thought Simplicity in me, that all this Time of my Reign I have not sought to advance my Territories, and enlarge my Dominions; for Opportunity hath served me to do it. I acknowledge my Womanhood and Weakness in that Respect. But it hath not been the Hardness to obtain, or Doubt how to keep the Things so obtained, that only hath withheld me from these Attempts:

The Queen's
speech at the
Dissolution of
the Parliament.

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My Mind was never to invade my Neighbours, or to usurp over any. I am contented to reign over my own, and to rule as a just Prince. Yet the King of Spain doth challenge me to be the Quarreller, and the Beginner of all these Wars. He doth me the greatest Wrong that can be; for my Conscience doth not accuse my Thoughts, wherein I have done him the least Injury; so that I am persuaded in my Conscience, if he knew what I know, he would be sorry himself for the Wrong he hath done me. I fear not all his Threatnings, his great Preparations and mighty Forces do not stir me: For tho' he come against me with a greater Power than ever was his Invincible Navy, I doubt not but (God assisting me, upon whom I always trust) I shall be able to defeat him and overthrow him; for my Cause is just. I heard say, when he first attempted his last Invasion, some upon the Sea-Coasts forsook their Towns and fled up higher into the Country, and left all naked and exposed to his Entrance: But I sweare unto you, by God, if I knew those Persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them know and feel what it is to be so fearful in so urgent a Cause.

The Subsidy you give me I accept thankfully, if you give me your Good-Will with it; but if the Necessity of the Time and your Preservations did not require it, I would refuse it. But let me tell you, the Sum is not so much, but that it is needful for a Prince to have so much always lying in her Coffers for your Defence in Time of Need, and not be driven to get it when she should use it.

You that are Lieutenants and Gentlemen of Command in your Countries, I require you to take Care and special Order, that the People be well armed, and in Readiness upon all Occasions.

You that be Judges and Justices of Peace, I command and straitly charge you, that you see the Laws to be duly executed, and that you make them living Laws when we have put Life into them.

After this Speech ended, and the Bills passed, the Lord-Keeper, by her Majesty's Command, dissolv'd this Parliament.

The

The War with *Spain* continuing for some Years longer, that Monarch had done his utmost to bring about another Invasion of *England*; and, in the Year 1597, he sought to dissolve the Union and good Agreement which were between the *French* and *English* Courts, that by those Means he might gain the Advantage of an easier Descent upon *England* from *Calais*. It is certain that the Happiness of our Situation is, and ever was, our greatest Security, against any foreign Enemy whatsoever, except *Scotland*. Which made this potent Monarch, tho' then possessed of the Wealth of both the *Indies*, fail in every Attempt against it. *Calais* was then, also, in the *Spaniard's* Possession; so that could he have had Leave to march an Army thro' *France*, *England* might have suffered much from so troublesome a Neighbour.

Queen Elizabeth;
1597.

To prevent this, *Elizabeth* used all her Policy to keep the *French* King firm to her Interest; she not only sent him some Troops, but also a great Sum of Money; for which he frankly offered the Town of *Calais* as a Security; provided the Queen would recover it out of the Enemies Hands at her own Expence, and with her own proper Forces. But, this not answering, the King of *Spain*, being now grown very old, accepted of a Mediation from the *Pope*, to bring about a Peace with *France*; which was concluded, and *England* left in the Lurch to provide for its own Security.

A Parliament
call'd on account
of a Peace be-
tween France and
Spain.

The Queen, rightly apprehending that this Peace might turn to the Disadvantage of *England*, resolved, says her Historian, to provide against the worst Effects, by furnishing her Exchequer with Money, and securing the Love and Affection of her People. For both which Purposes, a Parliament was called to meet, at *Westminster*, on the 24th Day of *October*, in the 39th Year of this Reign.

Anno Regni 39;
1597.
At Westminster.

On the first Day of the Meeting of this Parliament, the Queen being present, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, then Sir *Thomas Egerton*, by her

Queen Elizabeth. Majesty's Command, declared the Cause of the
1597. Summons, in these Words (e) :

The Lord Keeper's
Speech at the
opening thereof.

‘ **T**HE Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, my
‘ most Gracious and Dread Sovereign,
‘ hath commanded me to declare unto you,
‘ My Lords and others here present, the Causes
‘ which have moved her Highness to summon this
‘ Parliament at this Time ; which before I can ex-
‘ press, I must confess truly, that the Royal Presence
‘ of her Majesty, the View of your Lordships and
‘ this honourable Assembly, together with the Con-
‘ sideration of the Weightiness of the Service, and of
‘ my own Weakness, doth much appale me, and
‘ cause me to fear.

‘ Wherefore, if, either through Fear I forget, or
‘ through my many Wants and Imperfections
‘ I fail, to perform that Duty which is required ; I
‘ do most humbly crave Pardon of her Majesty,
‘ and beseech your Lordships to bear with me.

‘ The great princely Care which her Highness
‘ now hath, as heretofore she hath ever had, to pre-
‘ serve her Kingdoms in Peace, and safe from all
‘ foreign Attempts, hath caused her, at this present,
‘ to assemble this honourable and great Council of
‘ her Realm, to advise of the best and most need-
‘ ful Means whereby to continue this her peaceable
‘ and happy Government, and to withstand the
‘ Malice of her mighty and implacable Enemy ;
‘ which hitherto, by the Space of many Years,
‘ through her provident and princely Wisdom, hath
‘ been perform'd, to the great and inestimable Be-
‘ nefit of her Subjects, as that the simplest of them
‘ could not but see, and the wisest but admire their
‘ Happiness therein ; the whole Realm enjoying
‘ Peace in all Security, while our Neighbour-Coun-
‘ tries have been torn in Pieces, and tormented
‘ with cruel and bloody Wars.

‘ This her Majesty is pleased to ascribe to the
‘ great Power and infinite Mercy of the Al-
‘ mighty :

‘ mighty : And therefore it shall well become us
 ‘ all, most thankfully, upon the Knees of our Hearts,
 ‘ to acknowledge no less unto his holy Name;
 ‘ who, of his infinite Goodness, still preserve her
 ‘ Highness, and send her many Years more over us,
 ‘ in all Happiness, to reign.

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 1597.

‘ In this her blessed Government, her High-
 ‘ ness’s chief Care and Regard of all; hath been
 ‘ of the Honour and Service of Almighty God,
 ‘ that true Religion might be planted and entertain-
 ‘ ed in the Hearts of the People, through all the
 ‘ Parts of her Realm; and as well in that Behalf,
 ‘ as for the Peace and Benefit of her Subjects, she
 ‘ hath, from Time to Time, established many
 ‘ good Laws to meet with the Disorders, and to
 ‘ punish the Offences of wicked and ungodly Men;
 ‘ that continuing in their bad Ways, they may not
 ‘ be hardened and go forward in their Wickedness:
 ‘ For *Mora in Peccato dat Incrementum Sceleris*.

‘ And whereas the Number of the Laws already
 ‘ made are very great, some also of them being ob-
 ‘ solete and worn out of Use; others idle and
 ‘ vain, serving to no Purpose: some again over
 ‘ heavy and too severe for the Offence; others too
 ‘ loose and slack for the Faults they are to punish;
 ‘ and many of them so full of Difficulties to be un-
 ‘ derstood, that they cause many Controversies:
 ‘ You are therefore to enter into a due Consideration
 ‘ of the said Laws; and where you find Superflu-
 ‘ ity, to prune and cut off; where Defect, to sup-
 ‘ ply; and where Ambiguity, to explain; that
 ‘ they be not burthen some, but profitable to the
 ‘ Commonwealth: Which being a Service of Im-
 ‘ portance, and very needful to be required, yet
 ‘ is nothing to be regarded, if due Means be not
 ‘ had to withstand the Malice and Force of those
 ‘ professed Enemies which seek the Destruction of
 ‘ the whole State.

‘ This, before all, and above all, is to be thought
 ‘ of, and with most Endeavour and Care to be pro-
 ‘ vided for: For in vain are Laws made, and to

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‘ little Purpose do they serve, be they never so
‘ good, if such prevail as go about to make a Con-
‘ quest of the Kingdom, and Destruction of the
‘ People.

‘ Wars heretofore were wont to be made either
‘ out of Ambition to enlarge Dominions, or out of
‘ Revenge to requite Injuries ; but this against us
‘ is not so : In this the holy Religion of God is
‘ sought to be rooted out, the whole Realm to be
‘ subdued, and the precious Life of her Excellent
‘ Majesty to be taken away ; which hitherto, by
‘ the powerful Hand and great Goodness of the
‘ Almighty, have been preserved, maugre the *De-
‘ vil*, the *Pope*, the *Spanish* Tyrant, and all the
‘ mischievous Designs of all her Enemies.

‘ Wherefore it is high Time that this be looked
‘ into, and that noway be left unsought, nor Means
‘ unused, that may serve for Defence thereof.
‘ Her Majesty hath not spared to disburse a Mass of
‘ Treasure, and to sell her Land for the Mainte-
‘ nance of her Armies by Sea and Land, whereby,
‘ with such small Helps as from her Subjects hath
‘ been yielded, she hath defended and kept safe her
‘ Dominions from all such forcible Attempts as
‘ have been made ; which being still to be performed
‘ by infinite Charge, her Majesty notwithstanding
‘ hears nothing more unwillingly than of Aids and
‘ Subsidies to be received from her People ; though
‘ what she doth receive, she doth carefully bestow,
‘ and infinitely more of her own.

‘ The Taxations at this Day, howsoever they
‘ seem, are nothing so great as heretofore, in the
‘ Reigns of former Kings, they have been. In the
‘ Time of *Edw.* 3. and the two next before him,
‘ and those three which succeeded next after him,
‘ the Payments of the Commons then did far ex-
‘ ceed any that have been since her Majesty’s
‘ Reign ; which is of Record in the Histories of
‘ those Times to be seen : But never Cause so
‘ great to employ great Sums of Money as now.

‘ Now therefore you are to consider how to
‘ provide needful and convenient Aid, in some
‘ Mea-

' Measure to maintain and support her Majesty's
 ' Charge which at present she is at, and is to con- Queen Elizabeth,
1597.
 ' tinue at, for the Defence of the Realm. He
 ' cannot be well advised, which in this Case will
 ' not be forward to contribute and bestow whatso-
 ' ever he hath: For if, with the Commonwealth
 ' it goes not well, well it cannot be with any pri-
 ' vate or particular Person. That being in Dan-
 ' ger, he that would seek then to lay up Treasure
 ' and enrich himself, should be like to him that
 ' would busie himself to beautify his House,
 ' when the City wherein he dwelleth is on Fire;
 ' or to him that decketh up his Cabin, when the
 ' Ship wherein he saileth is ready to sink. To
 ' spare in that Case, is to spare for those which
 ' seek to devour all; and to give, is to give to our-
 ' selves. Her Majesty's Part being only carefully
 ' to bestow what is delivered into her Hands,
 ' wherein, Men performing their Duties, there is
 ' no Cause at all to fear: For the War is just; it
 ' is in Defence of the Religion of God, of our most
 ' gracious Sovereign, of our native Country, of
 ' our Wives, Children, Liberties, Lands, Lives,
 ' and whatsoever we have.

' Wherefore, not mistrusting your Forwardness,
 ' that I may not offend in too much enlarging this
 ' Point, as a poor Remembrancer to her Majesty,
 ' I shortly say to your Lordships, *Quod justum et*
 ' *necessarium est*; nothing can be more just than
 ' this War; nothing ought to be more necessary,
 ' than carefully to provide due Maintenance for
 ' the same. And, to you of the House of Com-
 ' mons, that you may orderly proceed, and wise-
 ' ly consult of these weighty Causes delivered unto
 ' you, her Majesty's Pleasure is, You should, ac-
 ' cording to your accustomed Manner, go down
 ' to the Lower House, and there make Choice of
 ' some grave, learned, and wise Man amongst you,
 ' to be your Speaker; who shall be for Understand-
 ' ing sufficient, and for Discretion fit, as your
 ' Mouth, to signify your Minds, and to make
 ' your Petitions known unto her Highness; and
 ' him,

Queen Elizabeth. ' him, upon *Thursday* next, to present in this
1597. Place.

Christopher Yel- On the said Day, *October 27th*, the Commons
verton, Esq; who claiming the antient and usual Freedom of
elected Speaker. Speech, Access, &c. was answered by the Lord
Keeper, that her Majesty did give her Assent to it ;
with Admonition, however, that the said Liberties
and Privileges should be discreetly and wisely used,
as was meet.

Proceeding in the There was the greatest Introduction of new
Case of Lord De Bishops and Lords to this Parliament, that we have
La Ware, as to yet met with at one Time. The very first Day
Precedency, &c. there were no less than one Archbishop, four Earls,
ten Bishops, and five Barons introduced ; besides
the Lord *De la Ware*, who put in his Claim for
the Seat his Ancestors enjoyed in Parliament. His
Petition was referred to a Committee of Lords ap-
pointed for that Purpose, to examine into his Pre-
tensions and make their Report to the House accor-
dingly. This Lord's Father had attempted to poi-
son his Uncle, the then Lord *La-Ware*, in Expec-
tation of his Estate ; and was, by an Order of Par-
liament, in the Reign of *Edward VI.* excluded
from any Estate or Honour that might come to
him after his Uncle's Death. The said *William*
was also condemned for Treason in Queen *Mary's*
Reign ; but afterwards his Attainder taken off as
if he had never been arraigned. But, whereas,
by reason of the former Sentence, he could not by
Law enjoy the Honour of his Ancestors, he was,
by this Queen's special Favour, created Lord *La-
Ware*, by a new Patent, and as long as he lived
claimed Precedency according to the Date of his
Creation. The Queen referred the whole Matter
to the Lords in Parliament ; who, finding that the
former Sentence concerned only the Person of the
said *William*, and that his Children were no Ways in-
volv'd in the same, and that the Attainder in Queen
Mary's Reign was no Manner of Bar, because it
was impossible for him to lose a Title which he
never had, besides, that he was afterwards fully
and

and entirely restored, and the antient Dignity no way extinct by the new Creation, but only laid aside in his Life-time, because he was not in Possession of it when he received his new Patent. For all these Reasons, he was adjudged by the Lords to hold the same Rank with his Predecessors, betwixt the Lord *Willoughby of Eresby* and the Lord *Berkley*; and he was accordingly reinstated with the usual Ceremonies, and an Entry was made in the Lords *Journals* of this Award.

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The same Day another Entry is made, on a Motion of the Lord Treasurer, that forasmuch as the *Journal-Books* kept heretofore, by the Clerks of Parliament, seemed to have some Errors in them in the Misplacing of the Lords, it was doubted how the same might be of true Record. Therefore he thought proper that the Lords would please to take order that the said Books, which henceforth should be kept by the Clerk of Parliament, may be viewed and perused every Parliament, by certain Lords of that House to be appointed for that Purpose, and the List of the Lords, in their Order, to be subscribed by them. Taking unto them for their better Information, the King at Arms; and that this Order might begin this present Parliament.

On another Motion of the Lord Treasurer, such Lords as were absent from Parliament and had not sent their Proxies, and such others as made their Appearance in the Beginning of the Parliament and have not since attended, should be admonished to reform the same.

These private Affairs being settled amongst themselves, the Care of the Public was next regarded; and the first Bill of Consequence we meet with, is intituled, *An Act for the Increase of Mariners and Maintaining of Navigation; repealing a former Act, made in the 23d Year of this Reign, bearing the same Title.* This Act, which is still extant in our Statute-Books, shew what Care the Legislature then took to support and maintain the Navy of

An Act for the
Increase of Ma-
riners;

Queen Elizabeth. of England, which had been and ever will be its
1597. greatest Security (f).

Punishment of Vagabonds; Nor were they less careful to preserve Peace at Home, by bringing in a Bill, this Parliament, for Erecting of Houses of Correction, and for the Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds and sturdy Beggars. Which is the first Time those Houses, so necessary for correcting Vice, were established in every County by Law.

And other public Purposes. These and some other Bills for the Relief of the Poor, by Erecting of Hospitals and Work-houses in Parishes, the Endowments of which were not to exceed 200*l. per Annum*; for the Maintenance of Tillage and Husbandry; for Preventing of Frauds by the Receivers, Collectors, &c. of the public Money; and for Preventing or Punishing Extortion, Rapes, and taking away Women against their Wills; for the Encouragement of the Woolen Manufactory, and to prevent the deceitful Stretching and Tenterring of Northern Cloth, &c. were passed this Session, and are in the printed Statutes. But,

A large Subsidy. The Bill, for which this Parliament was principally called, was read in the House of Lords, a third Time, on the 16th of *December* and passed; intituled, *An Act for a Grant of three entire Subsidies and six Fifteenths and Tenths to the Queen's Majesty.* The Bill had been brought into the House of Commons on the 7th, and passed there on the 14th. This large Supply they said was given to her, as a Compliment, 'for her Majesty's
 ' wise Administration; for Restoring Religion to
 ' a better State; for the Security of the Kingdom
 ' from the common Enemy; for the Defence of
 ' Ireland, and the Relief of France and the Nether-
 ' lands. But, intreated her withal, as they had
 ' done in the last Parliament, *not to advance this
 ' special Instance of their Bounty into a Precedent,
 ' but only upon such pressing Necessities of the State.*'

The

(f) A Bill was brought into the House of Lords and read, for the better Furnishing and Supplying of lawful Surgeons for the Land and Sea Service; but at the second Reading this Bill was drop'd; the Reason not assigned.

The Clergy were more moderate this Time, giving only four Shillings in the Pound, to be paid at six several Payments. Queen Elizabeth.
1597.

The last Act we think proper to mention, that was passed this Session of Parliament, was concerning the Deprivation of *Popish* Bishops, in the first Year of this Queen's Reign. Whereby it was declared, 'That the said Deprivation was, and should still be accounted legal and valid; and that the Bishops substituted in their Room, should be adjudged as lawfully created.' Dec. the 20th the Lord Keeper adjourned the Parliament to the 11th of *January* next coming.

An Act for Confirming of the Deprivation of the *Popish* Bishops.

Some less Matters relating to Breaches of Privilege and Forms of managing Committees of both Houses, on a Conference, are entered this Session in the *Journal* of the Lords; nothing else of any Moment, but what will fall better in our Account of the Proceedings of the Commons this Parliament, to which we now come.

But these Proceedings will be found much shorter, and of less Consequence, than those in the last Parliament. The first Day of their Meeting, Serjeant *Yelverton* having been nominated by Sir *William Knolles*, Comptroller of her Majesty's Household, as a fit Man for that Office: The said Serjeant stood up, and urged his Disabilities in too remarkable a Manner to be omitted (g).

' **W** HENCE your unexpected Choice of me to be your Mouth or Speaker should proceed, I am utterly ignorant. If from my Merits, strange it were that so few Deserts should purchase, suddenly, so great an Honour. Nor from my Ability doth this your Choice proceed; for well known it is to a great Number in this Place now assembled, that my Estate is nothing correspondent for the Maintenance of this Dignity: For my Father, dying, left me a younger Brother, and nothing to me but my bare Annuity. Then growing to Man's Estate and some

Serjeant Yelverton's Excuse, on being chosen Speaker.

(g) *D'Ewe's Journals*, from a Manuscript,

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‘ some small Practice of the Law, I took a Wife,
 ‘ by whom I have had many Children, the Keep-
 ‘ ing of us all being a great Impoverishment to my
 ‘ Estate, and the daily Living of us all nothing
 ‘ but my daily Industry. Neither from my Per-
 ‘ son nor Nature doth this Choice arise ; for he
 ‘ that supplieth this Place ought to be a Man bigg
 ‘ and comely, stately and well spoken, his Voice
 ‘ great, his Courage majesticall, his Nature haugh-
 ‘ ty, and his Purse plentiful and heavy : But con-
 ‘ trarily, the Stature of my Body is small, myself
 ‘ not so well spoken, my Voice low, my Carriage
 ‘ Lawyer-like, and of the common Fashion, my
 ‘ Nature soft and bashful, my Purse thin, light, and
 ‘ never yet plentiful. Wherefore I now see the
 ‘ only Cause of this Choice is, a gracious and fa-
 ‘ vourable Censure of your good and undeserved
 ‘ Opinions of me. But I most humbly beseech
 ‘ you, recal this your sudden Election ; and there-
 ‘ fore because the more sudden, the sooner to be
 ‘ recalled. But if this cannot move your sudden
 ‘ Choice, yet let this one Thing perswade you, that
 ‘ myself not being gracious in the Eye of her Ma-
 ‘ jesty, neither ever yet in Account with any great
 ‘ Personages, shall deceive your Expectation in
 ‘ those weighty Matters and great Affairs which
 ‘ should be committed unto me. For if *Demo-
 ‘ benes*, being so learned and eloquent as he was,
 ‘ one whom none surpassed, trembled to speak be-
 ‘ fore *Phocion* at *Athens* ; how much more shall I,
 ‘ being unlearned and unskilful, supply this Place
 ‘ of Dignity, Charge, and Trouble, to speak before
 ‘ so many *Phocians* as here be ? Yea, which is the
 ‘ greatest, before the unspeakable Majesty and fa-
 ‘ cred Personage of our dread and dear Sovereign ;
 ‘ the Terror of whose Countenance will appale
 ‘ and abase even the stoutest Heart ; yea, whose
 ‘ very Name will pull down the greatest Courage.
 ‘ For how mightily doth the Estate and Name of
 ‘ a Prince deject the haughtiest Stomach, even of
 ‘ their greatest Subjects ? I beseech you therefore,
 ‘ again and again, to proceed unto a new Election,
 ‘ here

‘ here being many better able, more sufficient, and far more worthy than myself, both for the Honour of this Assembly, and general Good to the public State.’

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This Speech being answered by Mr Comptroller, and the whole House being unanimous in their Opinion, the said Serjeant was presented, and confirmed by the Queen, as hath been before related.

It had been the Custom of these later Protestant Parliaments, for the Speaker to compose a Prayer, to be read by him every Morning during the Session. Accordingly, the present Speaker made and read the following.

O Eternal God, Lord of Heaven and Earth, the great and mighty Counsellor, We thy poor Servants, assembled before thee, in this honourable Senate, humbly acknowledge our great and manifold Sins and Imperfections, and thereby our Unworthiness to receive any Grace and Assistance from thee: Yet, most merciful Father, since, by thy Providence, we are called from all Parts of the Land to this famous Council of Parliament, to advise of those Things which concern thy Glory, the good of thy Church, the Prosperity of our Prince, and the Weal of her People; we most intirely beseech thee, that pardoning all our Sins in the Blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, it would please thee, by the Brightness of thy Spirit, to expel Darkness and Vanity from our Minds, and Partiality from our Speeches; and grant unto us such Wisdom and Integrity of Heart as becometh the Servants of Jesus Christ, the Subjects of a gracious Prince, and Members of this honourable House.

The Speaker's
Prayer during
the Session.

Let not us, O Lord, who are met together for the Public Good of the whole Land, be more careless and remiss than we use to be in our own private Causes. Give Grace, we beseech thee, that every one of us may labour to shew a good Conscience to thy Majesty, a good Zeal to thy Word, and a loyal Heart to our Prince, and a Christian Love to our Country and Commonwealth.

O Lord,

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O Lord, so unite and conjoin the Hearts of Her Excellent Majesty and this whole Assembly, as they may be a threefold Cord not easily broken; giving Strength to such godly Laws as be already enacted, that they may be the better executed, and enacting such as are further requisite for the Bridling of the Wicked, and the Encouragement unto the godly and well-affected Subjects: That so thy great Blessing may be continued towards us, and thy grievous Judgments turned from us. And that only for Christ Jesus Sake, our most glorious and only Mediator and Advocate, to whom, with thy blessed Majesty and the Holy Ghost, be given all Honour and Praise, Power and Dominion, from this Time forth for evermore.

Bill for Increase
of Husbandry;

After this Prayer was ended and a Bill against Forestallors, &c. read, Mr Francis Bacon stood up, and made a Motion: ' against Inclosures and De-
' population of Towns and Houses of Husbandry
' and Tillage. And to this Purpose he brought
' in, as he termed it, two Bills, not drawn with a
' polished Pen, but with a polished Heart, free from
' Affection and Affectation. And because former
' Laws are Medicines of our Understanding, he said,
' that he had perused the Preambles of former Sta-
' tutes, and by them did see the Inconveniences of
' this Matter, being then scarce out of the Shell
' to be now full ripened. And, he said, that the
' Overflowing of the People here, makes a Shrink-
' ing and Abate elsewhere: And that these two
' Mischiefs, though they be exceeding great, yet
' they seem the less, because *Quæ Mala cum multis*
' *patimur, leviora videntur*. And though it may
' be thought ill, and very prejudicial to Lords that
' have inclosed great Grounds, and pulled down
' even whole Towns, and converted them to
' Sheep Pastures; yet considering the Increase of
' People, and the Benefit of the Commonwealth, I
' doubt not but every Man will deem the Revival
' of former Moth-eaten Laws, in this Point, a
' praiseworthy Thing. For, in Matters of Policy,
' Ill is not to be thought ill, which bringeth forth
' Good. For, Inclosure of Grounds brings Depo-
' pulation

‘ pulation, which brings first Idleness, secondly Decay of Tillage, thirdly Subversion of Houses, and Decay of Charity, and Charges to the Poor ; fourthly impoverishing the State of the Realm. A Law, for the taking away of such Inconveniences, is not to be thought ill or hurtful unto the general State. And I would be sorry to see, within this Kingdom, that Piece of *Ovid*’s Verse prove true, *Jam Seges ubi Troja fuit* : So in England, instead of a whole Town full of People, nought but green Fields, but a Shepherd and a Dog. The Eye of Experience is the sure Eye, but the Eye of Wisdom is the quick-sighted Eye ; and by Experience we daily see, *Nemo putat illud videre turpe, quod sibi sit quæstuosum*. And therefore there is almost no Conscience made in destroying the Savour of Life, Bread I mean, for *Panis Sapor Vitæ*. And therefore a strict and rigorous Law had need to be made against those viperous Natures, who fulfil the Proverb, *Si non posse quod vult, velle tamen quod potest* ; which if it be made by us, and Life given unto it by Execution in our several Counties, no doubt but they will prove Laws tending to God’s Honour, the Renown of her Majesty, the Fame of this Parliament, and the everlasting Good of this Kingdom. And therefore I think them worthy to be read and received.’

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This Speech was seconded by Sir *John Fortescue*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who gave his Opinion much in the same Way with Mr *Bacon* ; and also moved for a Committee to consider of the Bill ; which was ordered accordingly.

Nov. the 8th. A grand Committee of Privileges and Elections being appointed, Mr *George Moor* Against unnecessary Armour ; made a Motion : ‘ He shewed the great and burthensome Charge upon the Subjects of this Realm ; being compelled, under great Penalties, to have and keep sundry Sorts of Armour and Weapons, at present altogether unnecessary and unuseful. Besides being charged with the finding and providing
‘ of

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‘ of such other Weapons and Armour, from Time
‘ to Time, as the Captains, who are appointed to
‘ this Charge, upon any Occasion of Service, will
‘ call for and appoint, at their own Pleasure. For
‘ Redress whereof, and that a Law might be made
‘ for a Certainty in this Matter, he moved for a
‘ Committee, which was accordingly nominated.

For lessening Pen-
nal Laws ;

The same Day Mr *Francis Hastings* moved ‘ for
‘ the Abridgment and Reforming the excessive
‘ Number of superfluous and burthensome Penal
‘ Laws.’ This was seconded by Mr *Francis Bacon*
and others, and another Committee was appointed
to consider of a Bill for that Purpose. Amongst
these there is only the first, against Inclosures, which
passed into a Law.

Against Monop-
lies ;

Nov. the 8th. Mr *Wingfield* moved ‘ for a Bill
‘ to correct sundry Abuses and Enormities, occasi-
‘ oned by Patents of Privileges and Monopolies.’
The next Day, notwithstanding some Opposition,
the Bill was committed ; but it did not pass into a
Law this Parliament. And, it is only mentioned,
as it was a Bill which touched the Prerogative, held
very sacred in this Reign. A Revival of this Bill
occasioned much Debate in the next Parliament.

And unlawful
Marriages.

A Bill having been brought into the House, and
committed, relating to Abuses in Licences for
Marriages without Banns ; with the Abuses in
Probats of Testaments and Processes *ex Officio* by
Ecclesiastical Officers ; the Chancellor of the Ex-
chequer acquainted them, That her Majesty had been
informed of the many horrible incestuous Marria-
ges spoken of in this House the Day before. And,
being resolved to redress and punish the same, com-
manded him to take Information of the Grievances
from the particular Members of this House. By this,
it appears, that tho’ the Queen had been ever oppo-
site to any Manner of Innovation in Ecclesiastical
Government ; yet, understanding the Abuses, here
spoken of, had been proved in the House, she had
not only given Leave to the Commons to treat
thereof, but had encouraged them to proceed in
the

Reformation of them. But, notwithstanding this Queen Elizabeth.
 fair Beginning, the Bill never passed into a Law; 1597.
 and some Days after was drop'd by the House of
 Commons itself.

Nov. 15th. A Motion was made for a Supply,
 by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'who put the
 ' House in mind of the Lord Keeper's Speech to
 ' them, on the first Day of this Parliament, by her
 ' Majesty's Direction, touching the Causes of her
 ' Highness's Calling of this Parliament, and shew-
 ' ing, at large, her Majesty's great and excessive
 ' Charges, sustained for the Defence of her High-
 ' ness's Realms and Dominions, against the Force
 ' of the King of *Spain*, amounting to more than a
 ' treble Value of the last three *Subsidies* and six *Fif-* Motion for a
 ' *teen*ths and *Tenth*s, granted unto her in the last large Supply;
 ' Parliament; and declaring further the great Ne-
 ' cessity of some Mass of Treasure, to be provided
 ' towards the Supply of her Highness's Charges in
 ' the Continuation of the Maintenance of her Ma-
 ' jesty's Forces, in Defence of her Highness's
 ' Realms, Dominions, and Subjects, against the
 ' Forces and Invasions of the said King of *Spain*;
 ' and further referring the Particulars of the De-
 ' signs and Attempts of the said King of *Spain*,
 ' since the last Parliament, to be reported unto this
 ' House, by Mr Secretary; moved for a selected
 ' Committee of this House, to be nominated to
 ' treat and consult concerning that Matter.'

Hereupon Mr Secretary *Cecil* shewed, at large,
 ' The Practices, and Attempts of the said King
 ' of *Spain*, against her Majesty and her Realms,
 ' Dominions and Subjects, in divers Sorts, and at
 ' sundry Times; together with his great Over-
 ' throws in the same by the Mighty Hand of God,
 ' and of her Highness's Forces, to his perpetual Ig-
 ' nominy and great Dishonour throughout the
 ' whole World.' And so, after a large Discourse,
 most excellently delivered by him, says the *Journalist*,
 concluded with a Motion 'for proceeding to
 ' the said Committees' Whereupon, after some
 Speeches by Sir *Edward Hobby* and Mr *Francis Bacon*,
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It was agreed, that all the Privy Council, being Members of this House, all the Knights returned for the Counties into this present Parliament, and all Citizens for Cities returned into this House, should meet about the said Business, on *Friday* next, at Two in the Afternoon, in this House; and any other of this House then to come to them also at their Pleasure.

Which is agreed
to, without Op-
position.

It is worth Observation, that notwithstanding the large Supply, granted by the last Parliament, met with so much Opposition in the Commons; both in the many Disputes they had with the Lords about it, and amongst themselves: Yet a Grant of the same Nature, and with some harder Conditions, on the Part of the Subject, passed this House in far less Time, and without any Opposition at all. For a Bill for a Grant of three *Subsidies* and six *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, to be paid in a shorter Time than those granted last Parliament, was read a first Time, *December* the 7th. On the 10th it was ordered to be engrossed; and, on the 14th of the same, it passed this House, and was sent up to the Lords, by Mr Comptroller and others. On which the *Journalist* makes this Observation; 'That as this Grant exceeded that in the last Parliament, in Respect of the Manner of Payment, so in the next, a still larger Supply was given.' By which, we must either judge that the Necessities of the State were in these Times exceeding urgent; or that the former Grants served as leading Precedents to the latter. Notwithstanding the Clause in the Preamble to the Bill of the first Grant expressly says, *That these large and unusual Grants, made to a most excellent Princess, on a most pressing and extraordinary Occasion, should not, at any Time hereafter, be drawn into a Precedent.*

The rest of the Proceedings of the House of Commons, in this Session of Parliament, are about Matters of small Account to this History, and therefore omitted. On the 20th of *December* the House was adjourned to the 11th of *January*, on account of *Christmas Holy-Days*. And, on the 9th

9th of *February*, the Queen came to the House of Lords in the Afternoon, as was the usual Custom in those Days ; when, sending for the Commons, the Speaker, having made his three Reverences to her Majesty, spake, in Effect, as follows :

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‘ **F**IRST, he shewed the Happiness of a Common-Wealth governed by Laws, by which Subjects are held in due Obedience ; which her Majesty observing, had now called a Parliament for the Preservation of some Laws, Amending of others, cutting off unnecessary Statutes, and the making of new, never before enacted : And that her Majesty’s Subjects in this Parliament, considering the Strength of the Realm to consist in the Strength of the Prince and Subjects, and their Strength to stand first in the Hands of God, and next in Provision of Treasure ; therefore, said he, your Majesty’s most humble, dutiful, and obedient Subjects, have, by me their Mouth and Speaker, presented here a free Gift of their free and loving Hearts ; the which, I hope and think, was granted without a Thought of a *No*. Sure I am, without the Word of a *No*.

The Speaker’s
Speech at the
Dissolution of the
Parliament.

‘ The second Part shewed a Commandment imposed on him by the House of Commons, which was touching Monopolies or Patents of Privilege, the which was a set and penned Speech, made at a Committee.

‘ The Third shewed a Thankfulness of the House of Commons for the Pardon.

‘ The Fourth and last contained the said Speaker’s own Petition, That if any Faults had been committed in the House, they might not be now again revived. And if either he had spoken too much, or not so much as in Duty he ought to have done, he besought her Majesty’s Pardon.

‘ And that as it had pleased her Majesty to grant Pardon to all her loving Subjects, so that she would not exempt him alone, &c.

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To which Speech the Lord Keeper, by the Queen's Command, made the following Answer :

The Lord Keeper's Answer.

OUR Most Dread Sovereign, her Excellent Majesty, hath given me, in Charge, to say unto you and the rest of her loving Subjects, that she doth thankfully accept of their free Gift of Subsidy granted by the Commons, which she would not have required, had not the Puissance of the Enemy constrained her thereunto. Secondly, Touching the Monopolies, her Majesty hoped that her dutiful and loving Subjects would not take away her Prerogative, which is the chiefest Flower in her Garden, and the principal and head Pearl in her Crown and Diadem; but that they will rather leave that to her Disposition. And as her Majesty hath proceeded to Trial of them already, so she promiseth to continue, that they shall all be examined, to abide the Trial and true Touchstone of the Law. Thirdly, Touching her Pardon, her Majesty's Pleasure is, that I shew unto you, that you do not so willingly accept it as she giveth it. Fourthly, For your Pardon, Mr Speaker, her Majesty saith, That you have so learnedly and so eloquently defended yourself now, and painfully behaved yourself heretofore, as that your Labour deserveth double her Thanks: But, in your Petition, I must also join with you, in beseeching her most Excellent Majesty, that if any thing, through Want of Experience, or through mine Imperfections and Ignorance, have overslipped me, it may be pardoned and remitted.

The Parliament dissolv'd.

The Lord Keeper having finished his Speech, and the Queen given the Royal Assent to fifteen Private and twenty-eight publick Acts, and refused or quashed forty-eight several Bills, which had passed both Houses, the said great Officer, by her Majesty's Command, dissolved this Parliament.

The Year after the last Parliament was dissolved, died *William Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*, Lord High-Trea-

Treasurer of *England*. This Statesman had lived to a good old Age ; and, at last fell, exhausted by Study and the necessary Fatigue of his Employment. He had acquired a vast Estate, with as great a Character ; and left two Earldoms in his Family, to this Day enjoyed by his Posterity. Being set at the Head of the Public Revenue, he kept a very strict Eye on all the Farmers of the Customs ; and he used to say, *That he never cared to see the Treasury swell like a disordered Spleen, when the other Parts of the Commonwealth were in a Consumption.* He used all possible Means to enrich both the Queen and the Kingdom, by his Administration ; in which he had good Success. For, says *Cambden*, it was his usual Maxim, as well as common Expression, *That nothing could be for the Advantage of a Prince, which makes any Way against his Reputation.* Two admirable Lessons to be studied by all succeeding Treasurers.

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The Death of the
Lord Treasurer
Burleigh.

Nothing material happened in the State for some more Years after the Dissolution of the last Parliament, fit for these Inquiries ; except, that we find *Puritanical* Principles were now become almost as formidable to the Established Church, as *Popery* itself. In the Year 1599, the forty-second of this Queen, two special Commissions were sent out, to the two Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, directed to each Archbishop, the Bishops, and many other Clergy, Knights and Gentlemen of those Districts, to enquire into and suppress them. These Commissions recite the Titles of all the Acts of Parliament, made in this Reign, for giving Power to the Crown to exercise Jurisdiction in Spirituals. Beginning with that Act of the first Year, entitled, *An Act restoring to the Crown its antient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical and Spiritual, and abolishing all foreign Power repugnant to the same.*

The Rise of the
High-Commission-
Court.

The Commissions are both of them preserved, at length, in *Rymer's* public Acts (b). By them, the Commissioners there named, are authorised and appointed to inquire of all and singular heretical,

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(b) *Fœd. Anglican.* Tom. XVI. Pag. 386, 400.

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1599.

cal, enormous, and offensive Opinions, seditious Books, private Conventicles, &c. &c. and to put the Laws in Execution against all such Persons, as shall offend against the said Statutes, and bring them to condign Punishment.

This was called the *High-Commission-Court*, which, tho' first instituted by this truly *Protestant* Queen, and fortified by so many Acts of Parliament, was, in a succeeding Reign abolished, together with Episcopacy, and all Kingly Government.

Anno Regni 43,
1601.
At Westminster.

We now come to the last Parliament of Queen *Elizabeth*, which was called to meet at *Westminster*, on the 27th Day of *October*, in the 43d Year of her Reign. When, being assembled, and the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses of the House of Commons, having Notice that her Majesty, with divers Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and others, were set in the Upper House, hasted thither; but before they came, the Door of the House was shut, and notwithstanding any Means that was made by them, was still kept shut, until the Lord Keeper had ended his Speech; their Resentment of which will appear in the Sequel. The Substance of what the Lord Keeper spoke, at this Time, was as followeth.

The Lord Keeper's Speech at opening the Session.

‘ **H**E used Persuasion of Thankfulness, and of Obedience, and also shewed her Majesty's Desire of Dissolution of this Parliament before *Christmas*. He shewed unto us the Necessity we stand in, and the Means to prevent it; the Necessity, the Wars between *Spain* and *England*; the Means, Treasure, &c. His Advice was, that Laws in Force might be revised and explained, and no new Laws made. Our Enemies, he said, were Enemies to God, the Queen, and the Peace of this Kingdom, conspired to overthrow Religion, to reduce us to a tyrannical Servitude. These Enemies he named to be the Bishop of *Rome* and the King of *Spain*. Our State being thus, he summoned us to be provident, by reason we deal with a provident Enemy; and confident, because God hath ever, and he

' he hoped, will ever bless the Queen with successful Queen Elizabeth.
 ' Fortune. He shewed how apparent his Provi- 1601.
 ' dence was, by the Means and Course he ta-
 ' keth for our Instruction: And secondly, The
 ' Success we had against him by God's strong Arm
 ' of Defence in 1588, and divers other Times since.
 ' You see, said he, to what Effect the Queen's
 ' Support of the *French* King's Estate hath brought
 ' him; even made him one of the greatest Princes
 ' in *Europe*; but when her Majesty's Forces left
 ' him, how was he fain to ransom a servile Peate
 ' at our Enemies the *Spaniard's* Hands with disho-
 ' nourable Conditions. For the *Low-Countries*, how
 ' by her Aid, from a confused Government and
 ' State she brought them to an Unity in Counsel,
 ' and defended them with such Success, in her At-
 ' tempts against the greatest Power of the *Spani-*
 ' *ards* tyrannical Designs; which have so much
 ' gauled him, that, how many desperate Practices
 ' have been both devised, consented to, and set on
 ' foot by Commandment of the late King his Fa-
 ' ther, I need not shew you, neither trouble you
 ' with Arguments for Proof thereof; being con-
 ' fessed by them that should have been Authors
 ' themselves. But, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. I
 ' would be loth to speak of the dead, much more
 ' to slander the dead. I have seen her Majesty
 ' wear at her Girdle the Price of her Blood; I
 ' mean, Jewels which have been given to her
 ' Physicians to have done that unto her, which I
 ' hope, God will ever keep from her; but she hath
 ' rather worn them in Triumph than for the Price,
 ' which hath not been greatly valuable.

' Then he fell to persuade us, because new Oc-
 ' casions were offered of Consultations, to be pro-
 ' vident in Provision of Means for our own De-
 ' fence and Safety, seeing the King of *Spain* means
 ' to make *England* miserable by beginning with
 ' *Ireland*; neither doth he begin with the Rebels,
 ' but even with the Territory of the Queen her-
 ' self. He shewed that Treasure must be our
 ' Means, for Treasure is the Sinews of War, &c.

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1601.

John Crooke Esq;
chosen Speaker.

Notwithstanding this unusual Exclusion of the Lower House; on the 30th of *October*, when the Queen came to the House of Lords, the *Journalist* tells us, That the Commons presented *John Crooke*, Esq; Recorder of *London*, for their Speaker, who, after three low Reverences to her Majesty, spoke as follows.

His Speech to
the Queen.

Most Sacred and Mighty Sovereign,

‘ UPON your Majesty’s Commandment, your
‘ most dutiful and loving Commons, the
‘ Knights, Citizens, and Burgesſes of the Lower
‘ House, have chosen me your Majesty’s most
‘ humble Servant, being a Member of the same
‘ House, to be their Speaker; but finding the
‘ Weakness of myself, and my Ability too weak
‘ to undergo so great a Burthen, I do most hum-
‘ bly beseech your Sacred Majesty to continue your
‘ most gracious Favour towards me, and not to
‘ lay this Charge, so unsupportable, upon my un-
‘ worthy and unable Self: And that it would please
‘ you to command your Commons, to make a
‘ new Election of another, more able and more
‘ sufficient to discharge the great Service to be ap-
‘ pointed by your Majesty and your Subjects.
‘ And I beseech your most excellent Majesty, not to
‘ interpret my Denial herein, to proceed from any
‘ Unwillingness to perform all devoted dutiful Ser-
‘ vice; but rather out of your Majesty’s Clemency
‘ and Goodness, to interpret the same to proceed
‘ from that inward Fear and Trembling which
‘ hath ever possessed me, when heretofore, with
‘ most gracious Audience, it hath pleased your
‘ Majesty to license me to speak before you. For,
‘ I know, and must acknowledge, that under God,
‘ even through your Majesty’s great Bounty and
‘ Favour, I am what I am; and therefore none of
‘ your Majesty’s most dutiful Subjects more bound
‘ to be ready, and being ready, to perform even
‘ the least of your Majesty’s Commandments. I
‘ therefore do most humbly beseech your Majesty,
‘ that in regard the Service of so great a Prince,

‘ and

‘ and flourishing Kingdom, may the better and
 ‘ more successfully be effected, to command your
 ‘ dutiful and loving Commons, the Knights, Ci- Queen Elizabeth.
1601.
 ‘ tizens, and Burgesſes of the Lower Houſe, to
 ‘ proceed to a new Election.’

To which the Lord Keeper, having received
 her Maſteſty's Orders, answered thus:

Mr. Speaker,

‘ Her Maſteſty with gracious Attention having
 ‘ heard your wiſe and grave Excuse for your Dif- The Lord Keep-
er's Answer.
 ‘ charge, commanded me to ſay unto you, That
 ‘ even your eloquent Speech of Defence for your-
 ‘ ſelf, is a great Motive, and a Reason very per-
 ‘ ſuaſive, both to ratify and approve the Choice of
 ‘ the loving Commons, the Knights, Citizens,
 ‘ and Burgeſſes, as alſo to commend their wiſe and
 ‘ diſcreet Choice of yourſelf, in her gracious Cen-
 ‘ ſure, both for Sufficiency well able, and for your
 ‘ former Fidelity and Services well approved and
 ‘ accepted of: And therefore her Maſteſty taketh
 ‘ this Choice of you for *bonum Omen*, a Sign of
 ‘ good and happy Succeſs, when the Beginning is
 ‘ taken in Hand with ſo good Wiſdom and Diſ-
 ‘ cretion.

‘ Her Maſteſty therefore commanded me to ſay
 ‘ unto you, that ſhe well liketh of your Election,
 ‘ and therefore ſhe ratifieth it with her Royal
 ‘ Aſſent.’

The Speaker replied in this Manner.

Moſt Sacred and Moſt Puiffant Queen,

‘ **S**EEING it hath pleaſed you to command
 ‘ my Service, by conſenting to the free Elec-
 ‘ tion of your dutiful and loyal Subjects, the
 ‘ Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of me to be
 ‘ their Speaker, I moſt humbly beſeech your Ma-
 ‘ jeſty, to give me leave to ſhew unto you the
 ‘ dutiful Thoughts and earneſt Affections of your
 ‘ loyal Subjects to do your Maſteſty all Services,
 ‘ and to defend your Royal and Sacred Perſon both
 ‘ with

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‘ with their Lives and Goods, against, &c. And
 ‘ so made a vehement Investive against the Ty-
 ‘ ranny of the King of *Spain*, the *Pope’s* Ambi-
 ‘ tion, the Rebels of *Ireland*, which, he said, were
 ‘ like a Snake cut in Pieces, which did crawl and
 ‘ creep to join themselves together again. And
 ‘ lastly, with Prayers to continue the prosperous
 ‘ Estate and Peace of this Kingdom, which hath
 ‘ been defended, as he said, by the mighty Arm of
 ‘ our Dread and Sacred Queen. To which she
 ‘ answered openly herself, *No, but by the mighty*
 ‘ *Hand of God, Mr. Speaker.* Then he proceed-
 ‘ ed to the last Part, to beseech her Majesty for
 ‘ Freedom of Speech to every particular Member
 ‘ of this House and their Servants. And lastly, if
 ‘ any Mistaking of any Speech delivered unto him
 ‘ from the Commons should happen, that her Ma-
 ‘ jesty would attribute that to his Weakness in De-
 ‘ livery or Understanding, and not to the House,
 ‘ as also any Forgetfulness through Want of Me-
 ‘ mory, or that Things were not so judiciously
 ‘ handled or expressed by him as they were deli-
 ‘ vered by the House.’

The Lord Keeper, receiving further Instructions
 from her Majesty, answered as follows.

Mr. Speaker,

‘ **H**ER Majesty doth greatly commend and
 ‘ like of your grave Speech, well divided,
 ‘ well contrived; the first proceeding from a sound
 ‘ Invention, and the other from a settled Judgment
 ‘ and Experience. You have well, and well in-
 ‘ deed, weighed the Estate of this Kingdom; well
 ‘ observed the Greatness of our puissant and grand
 ‘ Enemy the King of *Spain*, the continual and
 ‘ excessive Charges of the Wars of *Ireland*; which
 ‘ if they be well weighed, do not only shew the
 ‘ Puissance of our gracious Sovereign in defending
 ‘ us; but also, the Greatness of the Charge conti-
 ‘ nually bestowed by her Majesty even out of her
 ‘ own Revenues to protect us, and the Exposing
 ‘ of

‘ of her Majesty to continual Trouble and toilsome
 ‘ Cares for the Benefit and Safety of her Subjects.
 ‘ Wherefore Mr. Speaker, it behoveth us to think
 ‘ and say, as was well delivered by a grave Man
 ‘ lately in a *Concio ad Clerum, Opus est subsidio ne*
 ‘ *fiat excidium.*

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‘ Touching your other Requests for Freedom
 ‘ of Speech, her Majesty willingly consenteth
 ‘ thereto, with this Caution, That the Time be not
 ‘ spent in idle and vain Matter, painting the same
 ‘ out with Froth and Volubility of Words, where-
 ‘ by the Speakers may seem to gain some reputed
 ‘ Credit, by imboldening themselves to Contradiction,
 ‘ and by troubling the House of Purpose,
 ‘ with long and vain Orations, to hinder the proceeding
 ‘ in Matters of greater and more weighty
 ‘ Importance. Touching Access to her Person,
 ‘ she most willingly granteth the same, desiring she
 ‘ may not be troubled unless urgent Matter and
 ‘ Affairs of great Consequence compel you thereunto:
 ‘ For this hath been held for a wise Maxim,
 ‘ *In troubling great Estates, you must trouble seldom.*

‘ For Liberties unto yourselves and Persons, her
 ‘ Majesty hath commanded me to say unto you
 ‘ all, That she ever intendeth to preserve the Liberties
 ‘ of the House, and granteth Freedom even
 ‘ unto the meanest Member of this House: But
 ‘ her Majesty’s Pleasure is, you should not maintain
 ‘ and keep with you notorious Persons, either
 ‘ for Life or Behaviour, and desperate Debtors
 ‘ who never come abroad, fearing Laws, but at
 ‘ these Times; Pettifoggers and Vipers of the
 ‘ Common-Wealth; prolling and common Solicitors,
 ‘ that set Dissention between Man and
 ‘ Man; and Men of the like Condition to these:
 ‘ These her Majesty earnestly wisheth a Law may
 ‘ be made against; as also, that no Member of
 ‘ this Parliament would entertain or bolster up any
 ‘ Man of the like Humour or Quality, on Pain of
 ‘ her Highness’s Displeasure. For your Excuse of
 ‘ the House and of yourself, her Majesty commanded
 ‘ me to say, That your Sufficiency hath

‘ so

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‘ so oftentimes been approved before her, that she
‘ doubteth not of your sufficient Discharge of the
‘ Place you shall serve in. Wherein she willeth
‘ you, to have a special Eye and Regard not to
‘ make new and idle Laws, and trouble the House
‘ with them; but rather look to the Abridging and
‘ Repealing of divers obsolete and superfluous Sta-
‘ tutes; as also, first, to take in Hand Matters of
‘ greatest Moment and Consequence. In doing
‘ thus, Mr. Speaker, you shall fulfil her Majesty’s
‘ Commandment, do your Country Good, and
‘ satisfy her Highness’s Expectation.’

A Bill for re-
straining the Use
of Coaches;

The first Thing remarkable which the House of
Lords went upon, was to bring in a Bill to restrain
the excessive and superfluous Use of Coaches.
How long these commodious Machines had been
then in Use is uncertain; but, probably, some
Time, by its growing to such a Height, as to occa-
sion this sumptuary Law to restrain the Use of
them. What the Tenor of it was, we know not;
for, at the second Reading, it is entered, That
whereas the said Bill did in some Sort concern the
Maintenance of Horses, within this Realm, Con-
sideration ought to be had of the Statutes heretofore
ordained, relating to the Breed and Maintenance of
Horses; and a new Bill was to be framed for that
Purpose, wherein the Use of Coaches might be
included. — But we hear no more of this Matter.

For Preserving of
Game;

A Bill was also read a first and second Time, for
the Preservation of Pheasants and Partridges; but
tho’, at the second Reading, this Bill was of that
Consequence as to be referred to a Committee of
twenty-three Lords, amongst which were one
Archbishop and four Bishops, and three Judges,
with the Attorney General ordered to attend them,
for their better Direction, yet no farther Notice is
taken of it in the *Journals*.

And against the
Multitude of
Ale-Houses.

Another Bill passed the House of Lords, for the
Suppressing of the Multitude of Ale-Houses and
Tipling-Houses. A Bill was also sent up by the
Commons, much to the same Purpose, entituled,

An

An Act against Drunkards, and common Haunters of Ale-Houses and Taverns; but we do not find by the printed Statutes, that either of these Bills passed into a Law at this Time. Mr *Cambden* informs us that the Vice of Drunkeness was first brought into *England*, from the *Netherlands*, about the Year 1581. Before that Time, he adds, that the *English* of all the Northern Nations had been the most moderate in drinking, and were much commended for their Sobriety; 'till these *Dutch* Wars first taught the *English* Soldiery to drown themselves in strong Liquors, and by drinking others Healths, to impair their own. In the Course of these Enquiries, we have met with many Bills that have been drop'd or rejected in one Parliament, and yet have served as Ground-Plots to proceed upon and finish in another.

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A Bill was read twice in the House of Lords this Session, and committed, which had this short Title, *An Act for the Assurance of Lands*. Since it did not pass, and we know not to what Purpose it was designed, we only mention it for two extraordinary Rules of the House made concerning the Debates about this Bill. When the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Chairman of the Committee, returned the Bill to the House, with certain Amendments, they were presently twice read, and the Bill ordered to be engrossed. But the Bishop of *London*, one of the Committee, offering to speak to the Bill, or to the Amendments, a Question was moved by the Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Steward, 'Whether it was agreeable to the good Order and antient Custom of that House, that the said Bishop, being one of the Committee, and dissenting from the rest, in some Matter, either of the Bill or of the Amendments, might speak thereto upon the bringing in and presenting the Amendments?' The Lord Keeper proposed this Matter to the House, and the Question being put, it was carried in the Affirmative, 'That any Member of a Committee might speak, in this Case, either to the Body of the Bill, or
' the

Orders of the
Lords in relation
to Bills.

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‘ the Amendments before they were engrossed.’ And Order was given that this Resolution should be entered in the *Journals*, for clearing the same Doubt, if it should happen to arise in any future Parliament.

The next was, that on the third Reading of this Bill, many Objections arising against some Points of the same, made by the Bishop of *London* and several other Lords; inasmuch that the House was divided in Opinion, whether it should be put to the Question for the passing thereof, or no? Many Lords were desirous that any Defect in the said Bill might be rather reformed, than, by this Question, to put it to the Hazard of being rejected. Another Way was therefore first proposed, and the Question put, ‘ Whether the said Bill, having been referred to a Committee, at the second Reading, and by them returned with some Amendments, and thereupon ordered to be engrossed, might after the Engrossing and the third Reading, be recommitted, or no?’ The Numbers *pro* and *con* being equal; it was judged that the negative Part, who were against recommitting the said Bill, should prevail. Following the usual Rule in Law, as the Lord Keeper observed, ‘ That where the Negatives and Affirmatives were equal, *Semper presumitur pro Negante.*’

Lastly, the Bill itself being put to the Question, ‘ Whether it should pass or no?’ Was, by the Majority, rejected.

It seems, by the Lords *Journals*, as if the whole Business of this Session was employ’d in trying Complaints upon Breaches of Privilege: (The Recital of which is too tedious for our Purpose) Inasmuch, that on the 10th of *December* the Lord Keeper acquainted the House, that he had receiv’d a Command from her Majesty to inform them, ‘ That the Parliament should end on the 17th or 18th of this Month at the farthest; that they might repair to their several Countries against *Christmas*. She therefore required them to employ and spend that Time which remained, in
‘ Mat-

‘ Matters concerning the Public, and not on private Business.’ Queen Elizabeth.
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Some few Bills, indeed, of Consequence, had been proceeded upon; but the main Bill for a Supply was yet to come, which, no Doubt, the Queen’s Message expedited; for it was delivered on the 10th of *December*, and on the 12th the Commons sent up a Bill for a Grant of *four* entire *Subsidies*, and *eight Fifteenths* and *Tenths*; which, in a few Days more, had the Assent of both Houses. And very soon after, a Grant of four Subsidies of four Shillings in the Pound, from the Clergy, was confirmed by Parliament. A vast Subsidy.

It is strange that Mr *Cambden* takes no Manner of Notice of this monstrous over-grown Supply, nor the Occasion of it. The *English* were still somewhat engaged in the *Low-Country* Wars, and the Year after, a Descent was made by the *Spaniards* in *Ireland*, but without Effect; but neither of these seem to give Occasion for so large a Tax upon the Subject as was now granted; and which was just four Times as much as was given in the Beginning of this Reign, or in any Reign before it. And it is somewhat wonderful, that we meet with no Grudges or Discontents in the Kingdom, when it was collected. Which makes Lord *Coke’s* Observation still more just, ‘That no Tax on the Subject in *England* will raise any Commotions in the Gathering, which hath but a *Parliamentary Sanction* to support it.’

It hath been taken Notice of, at the Opening of this Parliament, that the Commons were not admitted, as usual, into the House of Lords, to hear the Lord Keeper’s Speech. Nor is there any Notice taken, in the said Speech, of their being commanded to go to their own House and chuse a Speaker. Much discontented at this Usage, they returned back, however; and, being assembled, Mr *Richard Liefe*, one of the Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*, stood up and addressed himself to Mr Comptroller of the Household, telling him the Wrong done unto the greatest Part of the Members of this House,

The Commons resent their being shut out of the House of Lords at the Opening of the Session.

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House, by their not being suffered to come into the Upper House, to hear her Majesty's Pleasure, by the Mouth of the Lord Keeper. Humbly desiring him, as Comptroller, to be a Means, that the Reason thereof might be imparted unto some of the Members of this House, for their better Satisfaction. (i) The Comptroller answered, That he thought this Request very reasonable and meet, and it should be done at convenient Time; but seemed to impute the said Fault wholly to the Gentleman-Usher of the Upper House.

The Ceremony of presenting the Speaker, &c. being given before, we pass on to relate the rest of the more remarkable Proceedings of the Commons in this Parliament.

November the 3d. Mr *Liese*, stood up again in the House, and moved, 'That since many of the Members were Strangers to the Lord Keeper's Speech, and consequently of the Cause which moved her Majesty to call this Parliament, they might be in some sort satisfied in that Point.' On which Mr Secretary *Cecil* repeated the Heads of the said Speech to the House, and then proceeded.

Secretary Cecil
recapitulates the
Heads of the
Lord Keeper's
Speech.

'For my own Advice, touching the particular Counsels of this House, I wish that we would not trouble ourselves with any fantastic Speeches or idle Bills, but rather such as be for the general Good, both light in Conception, and facile in Execution. Now seeing it hath pleased you all hitherto with Patience to hear me, if with your Favour, I may particularize and shew the Grounds of the former-delivered Speech, touching the State of *Ireland*, I shall be very glad, both for my own Discharge, and for your Satisfaction. The King of *Spain*, having quit himself of *France*, by a base and servile Peace, forgetteth not to follow the Objects of his Father's Ambition, *England* and the *Low-Countries*. He hath made Overtures of Peace, which, if they might both be honourable and for the Public Good, I hold that neither a wise nor an honest Man would impugn them. He

(i) The Comptroller of the Household usually proposed the Speaker.

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‘ He hath put an Army into *Ireland*, the Number four thousand Soldiers, under the Conduct of a valiant, expert, and hardy Captain, who chooseth, rather than return into his own Country without any famous Enterprize, to live and die in this Service. These four thousand are three Parts natural *Spaniards*, and of his best expert Soldiers, except them of the *Low-Countries*: Those he could not spare, because of his Enterprize of *Ostend*. And how dangerous the Loss of that Town would be to this Land, I think there is no Man of Experience but can witness with me. For he would easily be Master of all that Coast, so that the Trade between *England* and the *Low-Countries* would be quite dissolved. Yea, he would be so dangerous a Neighbour to us, that we, which are now Tenants by Discretion, are likely shortly to be Tenants by the Courtesy. When he is our Neighbour of the *Low-Countries*, what Neighbour hath *Spain*, to whom he shall not be troublesome.

‘ I will shew you further what besides this he hath done, and how Eagle-eyed he is continually over us. To resist the *Turk*’s Attempts, he hath sent ten thousand Men; to the *Low-Countries* nine thousand; in an Enterprize of his own against the *Turk* he hath sent; which being dispatched, those Soldiers shall return against the next Spring, and second these four thousand Men. Now in the Enterprize for *Ireland*, to resist those Attempts in Being, and the ensuing Provisions against us, let us consider the Certainty of our Estate in *Ireland*: We have there an Army, and nothing but an Army, fed even out of *England*; with what Charge it brings to the Queen, what Trouble to the Subject, what Danger it is to them there left, if the Provision should fail; what Hurt to the Common-Wealth, by making Things at a higher Rate than otherwise they would be, I refer it to your Wisdoms to imagine. Over this, I assure you, it is beyond all Precedent and Conjecture: His Presence and Cause of
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1601.

‘ War there, is to defend the Catholic Cause ; I mean, to tear her Majesty’s Subjects from her ; for, I may say, she hath no Catholic obedient Subject there, because she standeth excommunicate at this present by Force of two Bulls of this Pope’s, by which the Subjects are absolved of their Obedience. That you do only remember you do it *pro Aris et Focis* ; yea, we do it for a Prince that desireth not to do any thing extraordinary out of the Coffers of her Subjects. She selleth her Land to defend us, she supporteth all the neighbouring Princes to gain their Amities and establish our long Peace ; not these five, or seven, or ten Years, but forty-three Years, for all our Prosperities. I hope I shall not see her Funeral, upon which may be written, *Hic solum restat Victrix Orientis*. And I pray God, I may not. What we freely give unto her, she, living, bestows it to our Good ; and dying, doubtless, will leave it for our Profit. Thus have I out of mine own Genius, for mine own Part, delivered unto you what I know. And touching that I have spoken in performing your Commandment, I will take no Thanks from you for my Pains ; for no Man cares with less Affection to speak in this Assembly, or desireth to gratify any particular Member of this House more than myself.’

Mr *George Moore* moved, ‘ That whereas the Lord-Keeper’s Oration was, “ That the greatest Matters should be handled in the Beginning of the Parliament,” a Committee might be chosen to certify the House what those Matters were, that Order might be taken accordingly.’

On this Motion, a Committee was immediately appointed, which consisted of all the Privy-Council, being Members of this House, the Knights of the Shires, the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, the Knights and Citizens for *London, York, Norwich, Bristol, Totness*, and about forty more, who were ap-

appointed to meet in this House upon *Saturday* Queen Elizabeth.
1601.
next at Two in the Afternoon.

The House proceeded, the next Day, to regulate Elections and Returns, and ordered another Committee for that Purpose. After which, a Bill for Explanation of such Statutes as regard Leases to be made by Archbishops and Bishops, was read; to which only Mr *Boise* stood up and said, ' That A Bill relating to Bishop's Leases; ' this Act would be prejudicial to the Bishop presented and the Successor, to their Servants and to the Bishops own Servants and Tenants: To the Bishop present, in the Maintenance of his Estate, which cometh only by continual Fines; which if they be taken away, then are they not able to maintain that Hospitality, and keep that Retinue either belonging to their Place or answerable to their Living. For, consider the Revenue of the greatest Bishoprick in *England*, it is but 2200 l. whereof he payeth, for annual Subsidies, to the Queen 500 l. And what Damage we shall do both to him and his Successor herein, his Revenue being so beneficial to her Majesty, I refer to all your Judgments.

' To the Successor it must needs be more hurtful; for when he first cometh in, he payeth First-fruits, and yet is not allowed to make his Benefit by Fines, which all Bishops Farmers are content to do; so that he is cast one whole annual Value behind Hand, and perhaps hath no Power neither to make Leases in twelve or sixteen Years. This, Mr. Speaker, will induce the Ministers of the Word not to seek Bishopricks, whereby we may bring the Clergy both to Poverty and Contempt; from which they have ever been carefully defended and provided for, even by the most antient Statutes and Laws of this Land now extant.

' Hurtful it is to their Servants, for this may be every Man's Case. We know very many good Gentlemen's Sons serve Bishops, and how can they reward their long and faithful Services, but only by Means of granting over of these Fines

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or some other Means out of their spiritual Function? But this Act is good for the Courtier; and I may speak no more of that Point.

‘Lastly, Mr. Speaker, I myself am Farmer to a Bishop, and I speak this as in my own Case (on my Knowledge) to the House, that it is ordinary upon every Grant after four or five Years, ever to fine and take a new Lease, but I refer it to the Consideration of the House to do their Pleasures therein: Only this I can certify, That I have the Copy of the Bill the last Parliament exhibited to this Purpose, which I having conferr’d together with the present Bill, do find them to be, Word for Word, all one; and the last was rejected.’ Whereupon this was also rejected.

November 5th, the famous Mr. Francis Bacon, so often mentioned before, stood up to make a Motion, and on the offering of a Bill spoke thus:

Another for suppressing Abuses in Weights and Measures.

Mr. Speaker, ‘I am not of their Mind that bring their Bills into this House obscurely, by Delivery only to yourself or to the Clerk, desirous to have the Bill to be *incerto Authore*, as though they were either ashamed of their own Work, or afraid to father their own Children: But I, Mr. Speaker, have a Bill here, which, I know, I shall no sooner be ready to offer, but you will be ready to receive and approve. I liken this Bill to that Sentence of the Poet, who set this as a Paradox in the Fore-front of his Book, *First Water, then Gold*, preferring Necessity before Pleasure. And I am of the same Opinion, that Things necessary in Use, are better than those Things which are glorious in Estimation. This, Mr. Speaker, is no Bill of State nor of Novelty, like a stately Gallery for Pleasure, but neither to dine in nor sleep in; but this Bill is a Bill of Repose, of Quiet, of Profit, of true and just Dealings; the Title whereof is, *An Act for the better Suppressing of Abuses in Weights and Measures*.

‘We

‘ We have turned out divers Bills without Dis-
 putation: And for a House of Wisdom and Gra-
 vity as this is, to bandy Bills like Balls, and to
 be silent as if no Body were of Counsel with the
 Common-Wealth, is unfitting in my Understan-
 ding for the State thereof. I’ll tell you, Mr Speak-
 er, out of mine own Experience, that I have
 learned and observed, having had Causes of this
 Nature referred to my Report: That this Fault
 of using false Weights and Measures, is grown so
 intolerable and common, that if you would build
 Churches, you shall not need, for Battlements
 and Bells, other than false Weights of Lead and
 Brasses. And because I would observe the Advice
 given in the Beginning of this Parliament, that
 we should make no new Laws; I have only made
 this Bill a Confirmation of the Statute of the
 11th of *Henry VIIth.* with a few Additions, to
 which I will speak at the passing of the Bill, and
 shew the Reasons of every particular Clause, the
 whole being a Revival of a former Statute: For
 I take it far better to scowr a Stream, than to
 turn a Stream. And the first Clause is, That it
 is to extend to the Principality of *Wales*, to con-
 strain them to have the like Measures and Weights
 to us in *England.*’

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1601.

Then Sir *Robert Cecil* moved the House, ‘ To
 have their Opinions, in that there wanted a chief
 Member, viz. a Knight of *Denbighshire.* And
 he said, I am to certify the House thus much, in
 respect of some Disorder committed there, touch-
 ing the Election, by Sir *Richard Trevor* and Sir
John Fludd, to which Sir *John Salisbury* is a Par-
 ty, the Sheriff could not proceed in Election.
 For mine own Part, I think it fit that Mr. Speak-
 er should attend my Lord Keeper therein. And
 then produced a Letter from the Sheriff, that
 there happening a great Riot and Disturbance on
 the County-Court-Day, he had it not in his
 Power to execute the Writ.’

Debate on the
Manner of issu-
ing Writs for
Elections;

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To which Sir *Edward Hobby* answered, ‘ Me-
‘ thinks under Favour, the Motion Mr. Secretary
‘ made is good, but the Form therein (I speak with
‘ all Reverence) not fitting the State of this House.
‘ For, he said, Mr. Speaker shall attend my Lord
‘ Keeper. *Attend?* It is well known that the
‘ Speaker of the House is the Mouth of the whole
‘ Realm; and that the whole State of the Com-
‘ monalty of a Kingdom should attend one Per-
‘ son; I see no Reason. I refer it to the Confide-
‘ ration of the House: Only this Proposition I hold,
‘ That our Speaker is to be commanded by none,
‘ neither to attend any, but the Queen only.’

Mr. *Johnson* said, ‘ The Speaker might *ex Offi-*
‘ cio send a Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown
‘ who is to certify the Lord Keeper, and so to
‘ make a new Warrant.’

Sir *Edward Hobby* said, ‘ That for Election of
‘ Burgesses, he had seen half a Score Yesterday
‘ with Sir *John Puckering*’s Hand, when he was
‘ Speaker.’

Mr. Speaker said, ‘ I may inform you of the
‘ Order of the House, That a Warrant must go
‘ from the Speaker to the Clerk of the Crown,
‘ who is to inform the Lord Keeper, and then to
‘ make a new Writ.’

Mr. Secretary *Cecil* said, ‘ I should be very sorry
‘ to detract from any particular Member of this
‘ House, much more from the general State; my
‘ Meaning was mistaken, and my Words miscon-
‘ strued.’

On the Supply. On the 7th of *November* in the Afternoon, the
Committee on the Subsidy sat in the House; when
Sir *Walter Raleigh* moved the House, ‘ To confi-
‘ der to what Intent they came together, and now
‘ in their Coming what was to be considered. For
‘ the Subsidy and the Manner and Quality thereof,
‘ I will now only intimate thus much unto you:
‘ That the last Parliament, only three Subsidies
‘ were granted, upon Fear that the *Spaniards* were
‘ coming; but we see now they are come, and
‘ have

‘ have set Foot even in the Queen’s Territories
 ‘ already, and therefore are the more of us to be
 ‘ respected and regarded. And seeing the Sale of
 ‘ her Highness’s own Jewels, the great Loans the
 ‘ Subjects have lent her, yet unpaid, the continual
 ‘ Selling of her Lands and Decaying of her Reve-
 ‘ nues, the Sparing ever out of her own Purse and
 ‘ Apparel for our Sakes will not serve, but yet she
 ‘ must be fain to call her Court of Parliament for
 ‘ our Advice and Aid in this Case; I wish for my
 ‘ own Part (as a particular Member of this Com-
 ‘ mon-Wealth) that we may not do less than we
 ‘ did before; and that we also would bountifully,
 ‘ according to our Estates, contribute to the Ne-
 ‘ cessity of her Majesty, as now it standeth.’

Queen Elizabeth,
 1601.

Mr. *Wiseman*. ‘ Her Majesty hath spent so
 ‘ much, that now she is fain to desire the Help of
 ‘ her Subjects: Let us draw to some Head, and
 ‘ leave our Orations and Speeches. We are to
 ‘ consider only what is fit to be given; and as for
 ‘ my Part, as a poor Member and one of the
 ‘ meanest in this House, I will be bold to
 ‘ deliver mine Opinion first, because some must
 ‘ break the Ice. Three Pound Land and under to
 ‘ pay 2 s. 8 d. in the Pound, and Five Pound
 ‘ Goods and under to pay 1 s. 8 d. in the Pound,
 ‘ and double Tenths and Fifteenths as soon as may
 ‘ be. Although I may seem over bold, being but
 ‘ a Rural and Countryman, to speak even out of
 ‘ my Element in this Case; yet I do heartily crave
 ‘ Pardon of all, beseeching that neither my Un-
 ‘ aptness or Disorder of Speech, nor the Unwor-
 ‘ thiness of my Person may prejudice the Cause.’
 Sir *Robert Wroth*. ‘ That four Pound Land full
 ‘ Subsidy, and six Pound Goods full Subsidy might
 ‘ be paid to her Majesty.’

Sir *Francis Hastings* moved, ‘ That Three Pound
 ‘ Men might be exempted, and all others above
 ‘ that Rate to pay according to the Rate to make
 ‘ up a full Subsidy.’

Mr.

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1603.

Mr. *Philipps* moved, ' That the Four Pound Men might be exempted, and four Subsidies received from the Rich, which should be termed a Contribution, because it might make no Innovation.'

Sir *Walter Raleigh* said, ' If all pay alike, none will be aggrieved ; if any be exempted, doubtless, it will breed much Grief, and the Feeling will be great to those Three Pound Men that will feel any Thing, but it will be nothing to them that know any Thing.'

Sir *Edward Hobby* said, ' We cannot hear you, speak out, you should speak standing, that so the House might the better hear you.' So Sir *Walter Raleigh* said, ' That being a Committee, he might speak either sitting or standing, and so repeated over again the former Speech.'

Mr. Secretary *Cecil* said, ' Because it is an Argument of more Reverence, I chuse to speak standing, As long as the Queen by the Advice of her Council did find Means to spare you, so long she ever desired that her Subjects might not be charged: But if her Majesty, as soon as the last Subsidy had been spent, should have again resorted unto you, I do assure you, this Parliament had been called in *October* last. Now if upon Providence and Foresight, you did contribute unto her Majesty ; much more should we now do the same, seeing a resolute Company of Soldiers have intrenched themselves in her Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, and more Supplies thither are daily expected. It is Time to open our Coffers, that we may obviate, in the Beginning, these few Forces of the *Spaniards*, lest growing to greater Forces we cannot expel them with less than 500,000*l.* which we may now do with 100,000*l.* in present. If there be any that sits next the Door that desires to sit next the Chair to give his Opinion, I will not only give him my Place, but thank him to take my Charge.

' (This

‘ (This was conceived to be Sir *Edward Hobby*, Queen Elizabeth. 1601.
who coming to sit near the Chair, and not giving him Place, sate next the Door.’)

‘ We that sit here, for my Part, take your Favours out of Courtesy, not out of Duty ; — but to the Purpose. The Queen hath occasion to use, as divers in this House do know, 300,000*l.* before *Easter* ; how this shall be raised and gathered, that is the Question ; for without this Proportion of Charge, neither the *Spaniards* in *Ireland* can be repell’d, and the Wars there maintained, neither her Majesty’s other Affairs be set on Foot, neither Provision sufficient can be set on Foot, or made for Defence from foreign Invasions. Admit with a less Charge we should now expel him, Will any Man be so simple to think he will give over the Enterprize, being of so great Consequence, and grow desperate ? I should think him but a Man of shallow Understanding and less Policy. Surely, if we had been of that Mind when we had that great Overthrow of his invincible Navy in 1588, we had been destinated to Perdition. For how many chargeable Enterprizes of puissant and great Consequence hath he since made ? The like, if his Forces in *Ireland* should now fail, would he do again. And therefore that Provision we now make, if he should be expell’d with a less Matter, would serve to make Defence against his next Invasion of that Kingdom ; as also, enrich her Majesty to be ready to furnish her Navy and Forces the speedier for her Safety. Besides, if he bestow such Masses of Treasure for the gaining of one poor Town, *Ostend*, what will he do to gain so strong and famous a Kingdom as *Ireland* ? I will, by the Leave of a worthy Person who sits by me, and knows these Things better than I do, yield a particular Account unto you of the State itself. First, The last whole Subsidy after the Rate of Four Pound Lands, and Eight Groats Goods, came not to above 80,000*l.* the Subsidy of the Clergy 20,000*l.* the double Fifteenths 60,000*l.* All
‘ which

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‘ which is 160,000l. Since my Lord of *Essex*’s
‘ going into *Ireland*, she hath spent 300,000l.
‘ So the Queen is behind 140,000l. Thus we
‘ refer the Matter to your judicious Consideration:
‘ We only shew you the present State of the Queen
‘ and her Affairs, wishing no Man to look that
‘ we should give Advice what is to be done, as
‘ though you yourselves, who are the Wisdom of
‘ the Land, could neither direct yourselves, nor
‘ upon these Reasons alledged, judge the Necessity
‘ of the State.’

Mr. Comptroller Sir *John Fortescue*, and Secretary *Herbert*, spake all to the like Effect; only, Sir *John Fortescue* added this, ‘ That what pleased
‘ the House, in the Name of the *Subsidy*, to bestow
‘ the same, Her Majesty did and would ever employ to their Uses; so that dying, it might be
‘ written on her Tomb, *Quod occupatus vixit*, so
‘ that she dying, liveth still, employing all to the
‘ Safety of her Subjects. And I beseech you remember, that the Great-Turk when he conquered *Constantinople*, found therein three Hundred Millions of Gold: If they, quoth he, had
‘ bestowed three Millions in Defence of their City,
‘ he could never have gotten it. From this Blindness, I pray God defend us, that we may not be
‘ backward to give four Subsidies to her Majesty,
‘ for Want whereof in Time, we may happen to
‘ lose that which will not be recovered or defended with a Hundred.’

After which it was agreed by general Consent, the Three Pound Men to be included.

A Bill to repress
the Multitude of
common Solicitors.

The 9th of the same Month, *Heywood Townshend*, Esq; Author of the Book already mentioned, in preferring a Bill against the Multitude of common Solicitors, spoke as follows.

Mr Speaker, ‘ It is well said by a worthy Member of this House, Mr *Francis Bacon*, that every
‘ Man is bound to help the Common-Wealth the
‘ best he may; much more is every Man in his
‘ par-

‘ particular Bound; being a Member of this House, Queen Elizabeth
 ‘ if he knew any dangerous Enormity towards the 1601.
 ‘ Common-Wealth, not only to open it, but, if it
 ‘ may be, oppose it. We being all here within
 ‘ these Walls together, may be likened to a Jury
 ‘ close shut up in a Chamber; every Man there
 ‘ upon his Oath, and every Man here upon his
 ‘ Conscience, being the Grand-Jurymen of the
 ‘ Land, bound to deal both truly and plainly.
 ‘ Herewith (though a most unworthy and least
 ‘ sufficient Member of this House) myself being
 ‘ touched, I had rather adventure my Credit by
 ‘ speaking, though confusedly, than to stretch my
 ‘ Conscience (knowing so great a Mischief and
 ‘ Inconvenience unto this Kingdom) by Silence in
 ‘ so pleasing a Cause, as I do persuade myself this
 ‘ Bill will be to every Man that hears it. To
 ‘ which Mr Speaker, because I may have Benefit
 ‘ of Speech if Occasion serve, at the second Read-
 ‘ ing thereof, I will not speak more at this pre-
 ‘ sent, but only touching the very Tract of the
 ‘ Bill itself. The honourable Personage, that in
 ‘ the Upper House in the Beginning of this Parlia-
 ‘ ment, spake against the lewd Abuses of prolling
 ‘ Solicitors and their great Multitude, who set
 ‘ Diffension betwixt Man and Man, like a Snake,
 ‘ cut in Pieces, crawl together to join themselves
 ‘ again to stir up evil Spirits of Diffension: He, I
 ‘ say, advised us, that a Law might be made to
 ‘ repress them. I have observed that no Man in
 ‘ this Parliament ever offered to prefer any such
 ‘ Bill to this House, but, sure I am, no Man spake
 ‘ to this Purpose. I have therefore, Mr Speaker,
 ‘ presumed out of my young Experience, because
 ‘ I know Part of their Abuses, and with that small
 ‘ Portion of Learning that I have, to draw a Bill,
 ‘ and here it is. The Title is thus: *An Act to*
 ‘ *repress the Multitude of Common Solicitors.* The
 ‘ Body of the Act disableth all Persons to
 ‘ solicit any Cause other than their own. There
 ‘ are excepted and fore-prized four several Sorts,
 ‘ Lawyers and Attornies in their own Courts;
 ‘ where

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‘ where they be sworn Servants in Livery, and
‘ Kinsmen within the fourth Degree of Consan-
‘ guinity. And no Man within this Kingdom but
‘ may find a fitting and convenient Solicitor within
‘ these four Degrees. And I humbly pray, it
‘ being so short, that the Bill may be read and
‘ received.’

Debate on the
Supply renewed.

On the same Day the Affair of the Supply was
again before the House; and Mr Secretary Cecil
began first, and said,

‘ When it was the good Pleasure of this House
‘ to give Order to the Committees to consider the
‘ common Danger of this Realm, in which not
‘ only every Member of this House, but every
‘ Man in the Kingdom is interested, it liked the
‘ Committees after their Resolution to chuse one
‘ among all to give Account of their Proceed-
‘ ings, and that is myself. I do know, it were the
‘ safest Way for a Man’s Memory, to deliver the
‘ last Resolution without any precedent Argument;
‘ for rare is the Assembly in which there is not
‘ some Variety of Opinions. And I am of Opi-
‘ nion, if we had all agreed upon the Manner, as
‘ we did speedily upon the Matter, all had been
‘ dispatch’d in an Hour. It seemed by the ready
‘ Consent of the Committees, that they came not
‘ to look on one another, or like Sheep to accom-
‘ pany one another; but the Matter was well de-
‘ clared by some, and at length consented unto by
‘ all. Our Contention bred Difference, and Dif-
‘ ference Cause of Argument, both how to ease
‘ the State, and make this Subsidy less burthenfome
‘ which shall be received. Some were of Opinion,
‘ that the Three Pound Men should be spared,
‘ because it was to be considered they had but small
‘ Portions. Others were of Opinion that the
‘ Four Pound Men should give double, and the rest
‘ upwards should be higher ’essed. Others were
‘ of other Opinions. Again it was moved, whe-
‘ ther this Subsidy should go in the Name of a
‘ Benevolence or Contribution, or whether in the
‘ Name

‘ Name of a Fourth Subsidy ; but at length most
 ‘ Voices resolved it should have the old Name of a
 ‘ Subsidy, because *Subsidium* and *Auxilium* are all
 ‘ one. The most Voices concluded, That there
 ‘ should be no Exception of the Three Pound
 ‘ Men, because according to their Rate some were
 ‘ ’fessed under Value ; besides, Separation might
 ‘ breed Emulation, Suspicion of Partiality and
 ‘ Confusion. And the whole Realm, when each
 ‘ Man comes into his Country, will be better satis-
 ‘ fied, when they shall know they have spared no
 ‘ Man, nor made any Disjunction. It was said
 ‘ by a Member of the House, that he knew some
 ‘ poor People pawn’d their Pots and Pans to pay
 ‘ the Subsidy. It may be you dwell where you
 ‘ see and hear ; I dwell where I hear and believe.
 ‘ And, this I know, that neither Pot nor Pan, nor
 ‘ Dish nor Spoon should be spared when Danger
 ‘ is at our Elbows. But he that spake this, in my
 ‘ Conscience, spake it not to hinder the Subsidy, or
 ‘ the Greatness of the Gift, but to shew the Poverty
 ‘ of some ’fessed, and by sparing them to yield
 ‘ them Relief. But, by no Means, I would have the
 ‘ Three Pound Men exempted, because I do wish,
 ‘ the King of *Spain* might know, how willing we
 ‘ are to sell all in Defence of God’s Religion, our
 ‘ Prince and Country.

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‘ I have read when *Hannibal* resolved to sack
 ‘ *Rome*, he dwelt in the Cities adjoining, and
 ‘ never feared or doubted of his Enterprize, ’till
 ‘ Word was brought him that the Maidens, Ladies,
 ‘ and Women of *Rome* sold their Ear-Rings, Jew-
 ‘ els and all their Necessaries to maintain War
 ‘ against him. I do take myself in Duty bound
 ‘ to acquaint this House with the Modesty of the
 ‘ Committee at the Proposition ; that where first
 ‘ this House never stuck to commit it, they never
 ‘ stuck (understanding the Reasons) to grant it.’

Then was a Motion made by Sir *Robert Wroth*,
 ‘ That this new Subsidy might be drawn in a Bill
 ‘ by itself, to which should be annex’d a Preamble
 ‘ of

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Queen Elizabeth. 1601. ' of the great Necessities, the Willingness of the Subject, and that it might be *no Precedent*; but that would *not* be yielded unto.'

Mr *Francis Moore* moved that, ' That which was done might be compleatly done, and the Subsidy gathered by Commission, and not by the old Roll; for peradventure some were dead, others fallen to Poverty, others richer, and so deserved to be enhanced, &c. And withal he said, that the Granting of this Subsidy seemed to be the *Alpha* and *Omega* of this Parliament.' (i)

Mr *Wingfield* moved the honourable of the Council, Members of this House, ' That seeing the Subsidy was granted, and they yet had done nothing, it would please her Majesty not to dissolve the Parliament till some Acts were passed.'

Mr *Francis Bacon*, ' After a Repetition that the Three Pound Men might not be excluded, concluded, that it was *Dulcis Tractus pari Jugo*, therefore the Poor as well as the Rich not to be exempted.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* said, ' I like not that the Spaniards, our Enemies, should know of our Selling our Pots and Pans to pay Subsidies; well may you call it Policy, as an Honourable Person alleged, but, I am sure, it argues Poverty in the State. And for the Motion that was last made, of *Dulcis Tractus pari Jugo*, call you this *par Jugum*, when a poor Man pays as much as a rich, and peradventure his Estate is no better than he is set at, or but little better; when our Estates that be thirty Pounds or forty Pounds in the Queen's Books, are not the hundred Part of our Wealth? Therefore it is not *Dulcis* nor *pari*.'

Mr Secretary *Cecil*. ' That for what the Gentleman said, " That the Subsidy was the *Alpha* and *Omega* of this Parliament:" I think he

(i) Author of the Reports.

‘ he spoke it not simply out of Humour, but rather upon Probability : For, I can assure you, her Majesty is as respective over you touching her Laws, which she desireth may be perused and amended, that she meaneth not to dissolve this Parliament ’till some Things be amended: For that, that I said, touching the *Spaniards*’ knowing of our Sale of our Pots and Pans, and all we have, to keep him out, which should be a Matter of Policy, to which the Gentleman (Sir *Walter Raleigh*) took Exceptions ; I say, It is true, and yet I am mistaken. I say, it is good the *Spaniards* should know how willing we are to sell our Pots and Pans and all we have to keep him out : Yet I do not say, it is good he should know we do sell them. That is, I would have him know our Willingness to sell, (though there be no Need) but not of our Poverty in Selling, or of any Necessity we have to sell them, which I think none will do, neither shall need to do.’ Then all the House cried, *No, No* ; as much as to say, no Man did so.

Sir *Arthur Gorge* moved, ‘ That it would please the Council, that Order might be taken that Justices of the Peace might be ’fessed according to the Statute, *viz.* at Twenty Pound Lands, whereas there be few Justices that be above Eight or Ten Pounds.’

Then Serjeant *Heyle*. ‘ Mr Speaker, I marvel much that the House will stand upon granting of a Subsidy, or the Time of Payment, when all we have is her Majesty’s ; and she may lawfully, at her Pleasure, take it from us. Yea, she hath as much Right to all our Lands and Goods, as to any Revenue of her Crown.’ At which all the House hemm’d, and laughed and talked.’ ‘ Well, quoth Serjeant *Heyle*, all your Hemming shall not put me out of Countenance.’ So Mr Speaker stood up and said, ‘ It is a great Disorder that this should be used ; for it is the antient Use of every Man to be silent when any one speaketh ; and he that is speaking should be suffered to deliver

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‘liver his Mind without Interruption.’ So the Serjeant proceeded, and when he had spoken a little while, the House hemm’d again, and so he sat down. In his latter Speech he said, ‘He could prove his former Position by Precedent in the Times of Henry III. King John, King Stephen, &c.’ which was the Occasion of their Hemming.

Mr Montague said, ‘That there were no such Precedents; and if all Preambles of Subsidies were looked upon, he should find it were of Free Gift. And although her Majesty requireth this at our Hands, yet it is in *us* to give, not in *her* to exact of Duty. And for the Precedents there be none such, but touching a Tenth Fleece of Wool, and a Tenth Sheaf of Corn that was granted to Edward III. at his going to the Conquest of France; because all the Money, then in the Land to be levied by way of Subsidy, would not be any way answerable to raise that great Mass he desired. And so, having these Tenths, he sold them to private Men to gain that Subsidy, and so raised Money to himself for his Enterprize.’ (k)

Bill against Pluralities of Benefices.

November 16. A Bill for redressing certain Inconveniences in the Statute of 21 Hen. VIII. Chap. 13. intituled, *An Act against Pluralities of Benefices for taking of Farms by Spiritual Men, and for Residence*, was read the second Time.

Mr Dunn said, ‘It was no Reason that Men of unequal Desert should be equally beneficed, or equalized with the best.’

Dr. Crompton wished ‘That Pluralities of Offices might be taken from the Laity, and then Pluralities of Benefices from the Spirituality. Also in former Ages, he said, Impropropriations were given to the Spirituality, and then no Pluralities allowed; as also Spiritual Men bound by Ecclesiastical Canons of their own from Marriage, so that they might live with far less Charge than
‘now

(k) See Vol. I. pag. 330.

now they do. But having taken from them first the Impropriations, they cannot keep that Hospitality which is required. And next, Marriage being tolerated among them, they living at great Charge both of Wife and Children, one Benefice of small Cure sufficeth not.

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Sir George Moore ' Thought the Bill most fit to be committed, it being, in the general Opinion, a good Law, and tending to a good and a religious End; and such is the Iniquity of this Age, that for Want of a good Law of this Nature, many Souls do not only languish but perish everlastingly, for Want of Spiritual Food.'

Mr Lock. ' I think bare Silence is not an Exoneration of a Man's Conscience: The Similitude of Offices and Benefices, made by the Doctor, doth not hold, under Favour; for *Non est incipiendum cum Laicis, sed incipiendum á Domo Dei*: Therefore if they begin first, we shall follow in avoiding Pluralities.'

Dr James. ' That it had been said, That Pluralities were the Cause of bringing Corruption into the Church; but for that, under Favour, said he, I think the contrary, because Corruption is commonly where Poverty is; but if competent Living be given to the Minister, I see no Reason why just Men should judge there to be Corruption. Secondly, It was said, That it would be a Means of preaching the Word; for that I answer, That if Hope of competent Living be taken away, it will be a Means to make the best Wits refuse the Study of Divinity. And therefore an Historian saith well, that *Sublatis Præmiis corruunt Artes*. Consider besides, that in England there are above eight thousand eight hundred and odd Parish-Churches; six hundred of which do but afford competent Living for a Minister: What then shall become of the Multitude of our learned Men? They have no other Preferments unless it be to get some Deanery, Prebend, or such like, which is no easy Matter to do, they being so few, especially in this

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‘ catching Age. To give the best Scholar but as great Proportion as the meanest Artisan, or to give all alike, there is no Equality ; for *Inæqualibus æqualia dare absurdum*. And this will breed Poverty in the greatest Learned, which, is the Mother of Contempt, a Thing both dangerous and odious unto Divinity: This must needs enforce Preachers to preach *placentia* ; which is a Thing abhor’d even of God himself. A Preacher, who is no ordinary Person, ought to have an extraordinary Reward ; for the Canon saith, he must be *ad minimum Artium Magister, aut publicus aut idoneus Verbi Divini Concionator*.’

Mr David Waterhouse. ‘ Because myself am an Officer, I mean only to speak of the Doctor’s Similitude of Pluralities of Offices. By the Common Law, an Officer shall forfeit his Office for Non-Attendance ; so for a Benefice the Incumbent shall also forfeit. But after the Statute came which made this Toleration upon eighteen Days Absence : So that now, if we set this Statute at Liberty again, this shall be no Innovation in us, but a Renovation of the Common Law. And I will end only with this Caution to the House, That commonly the most ignorant Divines of this Land be double beneficed.’

Serjeant Harris. ‘ We seem to defend the Privileges and Customs of the House, but if we proceed to determine of this Bill, Mr Speaker, we shall not only infringe a Custom which we have ever observed, *viz.* to meddle with no Matter that toucheth her Majesty’s Prerogative ; but also procure her great Displeasure. Admit we should determine of this Matter, yet her Majesty may grant Toleration with a *Non obstante*. And, Mr Speaker, the last Parliament may be a Warning to us when the like Bill by us was preferred, and the same not only rejected, but also her Majesty commanded the Lord Keeper to tell us, That she hoped we would not hereafter meddle in Cases of this Nature so nearly touching her Prerogative Royal.’

Mr

Mr *Martin*. 'I agree with one that said, Learning should have her Reward;' but I say more, 'That our Souls should have their Spiritual Food.'

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1601.

Mr *Francis Hastings*. 'I protest that which I shall speak, I will utter to you all, out of the Conscience of a Christian, Loyalty of a Subject, and Heart of an *Englishman*. I know that *Distributio Parochiarum est ex Jure Humano non Divino*. But he that said so much, give me Leave to tell him, That *Distributio Verbi Divini est ex Jure Divino et Humano*. If then by the distributing and severing of Benefices to divers learned Men, the Word may be the better distributed unto the People, and preached as, God be thanked, it hath been these forty-three Years, under her Majesty's happy Government; (the Point of whose Days, I beseech the Almighty, may be prolonged) I see no Reason, Mr Speaker, why we should doubt of the Goodness of this Bill, or make any Question of the Committing thereof, &c.'

Mr *Roger Owen* shewed, 'That a Statute was but *Privatio communis Juris*: And this Act will make no Innovation, because it repeals only the Proviso, and not the Body. Whereas it was said, that *Honos alit Artes*, and much more to that Purpose; and if you take away the Honour and Reward, then you take away the Study itself. For Answer thereunto, Mr. Speaker, I say, under Favour, that this Statute takes away no Benefices from the Clergy, but doth only better order the Distribution of Benefices among the Clergy. For another Doctor that alledged a Canon confirmed under the Great Seal of *England*, I say, under Favour, that they of the Clergy, and not we of the Laity, are bound thereby; for they are, as it were, Bye-Laws to them, but not to us.' After which it was committed.

November 17. An Act to suppress the Sin of Adultery was read the first Time. The Substance whereof was, that if a Woman or Man, or both, were convicted of Adultery, he should lose his Tenancy by Courtisie, and she her Tenancy in Dower.

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Bill for punishing
Adultery.

Serjeant *Harris*. ‘ Mr. Speaker, by the Scope of this Bill, the Determination of this Fact must be by two or three blind Witnesses, in the Ecclesiastical Court ; which is no Reason, that Judges Ecclesiastical should determine of Laymen’s Inheritances. Besides, there is another gross Fault in the Bill, for if they be both poor, and have nothing but Goods, if the Man be taken in Adultery, he shall not be punished, because there is nothing of which he should be Tenant by the Courtessie. But if the Woman be taken she is to lose the Third of the Goods ; or if it be in the City, by Custom, she loseth the Half, which is *Jus in æquale*, and not to be admitted by this House.’ Then all the House cried, *Away with it*.

Debate on a Bill
against Monopolies.

On the 20th of *November*, the Grand Affair of Monopolies began in this House. It was first brought in by Mr *Laurence Hide*, and was then intitled, *An Act for the Explanation of the Common Law in certain Cases of Letters Patents*. After it was read, the Question was to be put for the committing of it ; and some crying out, *Commit it*, some *Ingross it*, a great Debate arose. When Mr. *Spicer*, Burgess for *Warwick*, said, ‘ Mr Speaker, this Assembly may be said to be *libera Mens et libera Lingua*, therefore freely and faithfully, that which I know I will speak to this House. This Bill may touch the Prerogative Royal, which, as I learned the last Parliament, is so transcendent, that the of the Subject may not aspire thereunto. Far be it therefore from me, that the State and Prerogative Royal of the Prince should be tied by me or by the Act of any other Subject. First, Let us consider of the Word *Monopoly*, what it is, *Μόνος* is *Unus*, and *Πῶλις* is *Civitas* ; (*m*) so then the Meaning of the Word is, a Restraint of any Thing publick in a
‘ City

(*m*) This Gentleman seems to have more honest Zeal than Learning. The proper Derivation of the Word being from *Μόνος Solus* and *πῶλις, vendo*.

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1601,

‘ City or Common-Wealth to a private Use, and the
 ‘ User called a Monopolitan, *quasi cujus privatum*
 ‘ *Lucrum est Urbis et Orbis commune Malum*. And
 ‘ we may well term this Man the Whirlpool of the
 ‘ Prince’s Profit. Every Man hath three special
 ‘ Friends, his Goods, Kinsfolks, and good Name :
 ‘ These Men may have the two first but not the
 ‘ last. I speak not, Mr Speaker, neither repining
 ‘ at her Majesty’s Prerogative, or misliking the
 ‘ Reasons of her Grants, but out of Grief of Heart,
 ‘ to see the Town, wherein I serve, pestered and
 ‘ continually vex’d by the Substitutes and Vice-
 ‘ gerents of these Monopolitans, who are ever ill-
 ‘ disposed and affected Members. I beseech you,
 ‘ give me Leave to prove this unto you by this Ar-
 ‘ gument. Whosoever transgresseth the Royal
 ‘ Commission of her Majesty being granted upon
 ‘ good and warrantable Suggestions, and also abus-
 ‘ eth the Authority and Warrant of her Majesty’s
 ‘ Privy-Council, being granted unto him for the
 ‘ more favourable Execution of his Patent: This
 ‘ Man is an evil-disposed and dangerous Subject.
 ‘ But that this is true, and hath been done by one
 ‘ Person, a Substitute of a Patentee, I will prove
 ‘ unto you. The Substitutes for Aquavitæ and
 ‘ Vinegar came not long since to the Town where
 ‘ I serve, and presently stayed Sale of both these
 ‘ Commodities ; unless the Sellers would com-
 ‘ pound with them, they must presently to the
 ‘ Council-Table. Myself, though ignorant, yet
 ‘ not so unskilful, by reason of my Profession, but
 ‘ that I could judge whether their Proceedings
 ‘ were according to their Authority, viewed their
 ‘ Patent, and found they exceeded in three Points ;
 ‘ For where the Patent gives four Months Liber-
 ‘ ty to the Subject; that hath any Aquavitæ, to sell
 ‘ the same, this Person comes down within two
 ‘ Months and takes Bond of them to his own Use,
 ‘ where he ought to bring them before a Justice
 ‘ of Peace, and they there to be bound in Recog-
 ‘ nizance, and after to be returned into the Ex-
 ‘ chequer ; and so, by Usurpation, retaineth Power
 ‘ in his own Hands to kill or save. Thus her

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‘ Majesty’s Commission being transgressed, as a
‘ sworn Servant to her Majesty, I hold myself
‘ bound to certify the House thereof ; and also
‘ that this Substitute stands indicted as an obstinate
‘ Recusant ; Yea, when her Majesty’s Name hath
‘ been spoken of and herself prayed for, he hath
‘ refused to stir Hat or Lip. My humble Motion is,
‘ that we might use some Caution or circumspec-
‘ tive Care to prevent this ensuing Mischief.’

Mr *Francis Bacon*. ‘ I confess the Bill, as it is, is
‘ in few Words, but yet ponderous and weighty.
‘ For the Prerogative Royal of the Prince, for my
‘ own Part I ever allowed of it, and it is such as I
‘ hope shall never be discuss’d. The Queen, as
‘ she is our Sovereign, hath both an enlarging and
‘ restraining Power. For, by her Prerogative, she
‘ may first set at Liberty Things restrained by Sta-
‘ tute-Law, or otherwise ; and, secondly, by her
‘ Prerogative, she may restrain Things which be
‘ at Liberty. For the first, she may grant *Non ob-*
‘ *stante* contrary to the Penal Laws, which truly,
‘ according to my own Conscience, [and so struck
‘ himself on the Breast] are as hateful to the Sub-
‘ ject as Monopolies. For the second, if any Man,
‘ out of his own Wit, Industry, or Endeavour,
‘ finds out any thing beneficial for the Common-
‘ Wealth, or bring any new Invention, which eve-
‘ ry Subject of this Kingdom may use ; yet in
‘ regard of his Pains and Travel therein, her Maje-
‘ sty, perhaps, is pleased to grant him a Privilege to
‘ use the same only by himself or his Deputies for
‘ a certain Time. This is one Kind of Monopoly.
‘ Sometimes there is a Glut of Things when they
‘ be in excessive Quantity, as perhaps of Corn,
‘ and her Majesty gives Licence of Transportation
‘ to one Man ; this is another Kind of Monopoly.
‘ Sometimes there is a Scarcity or a small Quanti-
‘ ty, and the like is granted also. These and di-
‘ vers of this Nature have been in Trial, both at the
‘ Common - Pleas, upon Actions of Trespas,
‘ where, if the Judges do find the Privilege good,
‘ and beneficial to the Common-Wealth, they then
‘ will

‘ will allow it, otherwise disallow it. And also I ^{Queen Elizabeth.}
 ‘ know that her Majesty herself hath given Com- ^{1601.}
 ‘ mandment to her Attorney-General, to bring di-
 ‘ vers of them, since the last Parliament, to Trial
 ‘ in the Exchequer; since which Time at least
 ‘ fifteen or sixteen, to my Knowledge, have been
 ‘ repealed; some by her Majesty’s own express
 ‘ Commandment, upon Complaint made unto her
 ‘ by Petition, and some by *Quo Warranto* in the
 ‘ Exchequer. But Mr Speaker, said he, [pointing
 ‘ to the Bill] this is no Stranger in this Place, but
 ‘ a Stranger in this Vestment: The Use hath been
 ‘ ever to humble ourselves unto her Majesty, and
 ‘ by Petition desire to have our Grievances reme-
 ‘ died, especially when the Remedy toucheth her
 ‘ so nigh in Point, of Prerogative. All cannot be
 ‘ done at once, neither was it possible since the last
 ‘ Parliament to repeal all. If her Majesty make a
 ‘ Patent (or, as we term it, a Monopoly) unto any
 ‘ of her Servants, that must go, and we cry out of
 ‘ it: But if she grant it to a Number of Burgesses,
 ‘ or a Corporation, that must stand, and that for-
 ‘ sooth is no Monopoly. I say, and I say again,
 ‘ that we ought not to deal, to judge, or meddle
 ‘ with her Majesty’s Prerogative. I wish every
 ‘ Man therefore to be careful in this Business; and
 ‘ humbly pray this House to testify with me, that
 ‘ I, the Queen’s Attorney-General, have dischar-
 ‘ ged my Duty, in respect of my Place, in speaking
 ‘ on her Majesty’s Behalf; and protest I have de-
 ‘ livered my Conscience in saying that which I have
 ‘ said.’

Dr Bennet. ‘ He that will go about to debate
 ‘ her Majesty’s Prerogative Royal, had need walk
 ‘ warily. In respect of a Grievance out of the
 ‘ City, for which I come, I think myself bound
 ‘ to speak that now which I had not intended to
 ‘ speak before; I mean a Monopoly of Salt. It is
 ‘ an old Proverb, *Sal sapit omnia*; Fire and Water
 ‘ are not more necessary. But for other Mo-
 ‘ nopolies of Cards, [at which Word Sir *Walter*
 ‘ *Raleigh*

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Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

‘ *Raleigh* blush’d Dice, Starch, and the like ;
‘ they are, (because Monopolies) I must confess,
‘ very hurtful, tho’ not all alike hurtful. I know,
‘ there is a great Difference in them ; and I think,
‘ if the Abuses in this Monopoly of Salt were par-
‘ ticularized, this would walk in the Fore-Rank.
‘ Now, seeing we are come to the Means of Re-
‘ dress, let us see that it be so mannerly and
‘ handsomely handled, that after a Commitment, it
‘ may have good Passage.’

Mr *Lawrence Hide*. ‘ I confess, Mr Speaker,
‘ that I owe Duty to God, and Loyalty to my
‘ Prince. And for the Bill itself I made it, and I
‘ think I understand it : And far be it from this
‘ Heart of mine to think, this Tongue to speak, or
‘ this Hand to write any thing, either in Prejudice
‘ or Derogation of her Majesty’s Prerogative Royal
‘ and the State. But because you shall know that
‘ this Course is no new Invention, but long since
‘ digested in the Age of our Fore-fathers above
‘ three hundred Years ago, I will offer to your
‘ Considerations one Precedent 10th *Edward III*.
‘ At which Time, one *John Peach* was arraigned
‘ at this Bar in Parliament, for that he had ob-
‘ tained of the King a Monopoly for Sweet Wines.
‘ The Patent, after great Advice and Dispute,
‘ was adjudged void, and, before his Face, in open
‘ Parliament, cancelled, because he had exacted
‘ Three Shillings and Four-pence for every Tun
‘ of Wine ; himself adjudged to Prison until he
‘ had made Restitution of all that ever he had reco-
‘ vered, and not to be delivered till after a Fine of
‘ Five Hundred Pounds paid to the King. This
‘ is a Precedent worthy of Observation ; but I dare
‘ not presume to say, worthy the following. And,
‘ Mr Speaker, as I think it is no Derogation to the
‘ Omnipotence of God, to say, he can do all but
‘ Evil ; so, I think, it is no Derogation to the Ma-
‘ jesty or Person of the Queen, to say the like in
‘ some Proportion. Yet, Mr Speaker, because
‘ two Eyes may see more than one, I humbly pray,
‘ that

‘ that there might be a Commitment had of this ^{Queen Elizabeth.}
 ‘ Bill, lest something may be therein which may ^{1602.}
 ‘ prove the Bane and Overthrow thereof at the
 ‘ Time of the Passing.’

Serjeant *Harris*. ‘ For ought I see, the House
 ‘ moveth to have this Bill in the Nature of a Peti-
 ‘ tion; it must then begin with more Humiliation:
 ‘ And truly Sir, the Bill is good of itself, but the
 ‘ Penning of it is somewhat out of Course.’

Mr *Montague*. ‘ The Matter is good and ho-
 ‘ nest, and I like this Manner of proceeding by Bill
 ‘ well enough in this Matter. The Grievances
 ‘ are great, and I would note unto you only thus
 ‘ much, that the last Parliament we proceeded
 ‘ by Way of Petition, which had no successful
 ‘ Effect.’

Mr *Francis Moore*. ‘ I know the Queen’s Pre-
 ‘ rogative is a Thing curious to be dealt withal,
 ‘ yet all Grievances are not comparable. I can-
 ‘ not utter with my Tongue, or conceive with
 ‘ my Heart, the great Grievances that the Town
 ‘ and Country for which I serve, suffereth by
 ‘ some of these Monopolies; it bringeth the gene-
 ‘ ral Profit into a private Hand, and the End of
 ‘ all is Beggary and Bondage to the Subjects. We
 ‘ have a Law for the true and faithful Currying of
 ‘ Leather; there is a Patent sets all at Liberty,
 ‘ notwithstanding that Statute. And to what Pur-
 ‘ pose is it to do any Thing by *Act of Parliament*,
 ‘ when the Queen will *undo* the same by her *Pre-
 ‘ rogative*? Out of the Spirit of Humiliation,
 ‘ Mr Speaker, I do speak it, there is no Act of
 ‘ hers that hath been, or is more derogatory to her
 ‘ own Majesty, more odious to the Subject, more
 ‘ dangerous to the Common-Wealth than the
 ‘ granting of these Monopolies.’

Mr *Martin*. ‘ I speak for a Town that
 ‘ grieves and pines, for a Country that groaneth
 ‘ and languisheth under the Burthen of monstrous
 ‘ and unconscionable Substitutes to the Monopoli-
 ‘ tans

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Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

‘ tans of Starch, Tinn, Fish, Cloth, Oil, Vine-
‘ gar, Salt, and I know not what, nay what not ?
‘ The principal Commodities, both of my Town
‘ and Country, are ingrossed into the Hand of those
‘ Blood-Suckers of the Common-Wealth. If a
‘ Body, Mr Speaker, being let Blood, be left still
‘ languishing without any Remedy, how can the
‘ good Estate of that Body long remain ? Such is
‘ the State of my Town and Country ; the Traffic
‘ is taken away, the inward and private Commo-
‘ dities are taken away, and dare not be used with-
‘ out the Licence of these Monopolitans. If these
‘ Blood-Suckers be still let alone to suck up the
‘ best and principal Commodities which the
‘ Earth there hath given us, what shall become of
‘ us, from whom the Fruits of our own Soil and
‘ the Commodities of our own Labour, which,
‘ with the Sweat of our Brows, even up to the
‘ Knees in Mire and Dirt, we have laboured for,
‘ shall be taken by Warrant of supreme Autho-
‘ rity, which the poor Subjects dare not gainsay ?’

Sir George Moore. ‘ I make no Question but
‘ that this Bill offereth good Matter ; and I do
‘ wish, that the Matter may in some Sort be profe-
‘ cuted, and the Bill rejected. Many Grievances
‘ have been laid open touching the Monopolies of
‘ Salt ; but, if we add thereunto *Petre*, then we
‘ had hit the Grief aright ; with which my Coun-
‘ try is perplexed. There be three Persons, her
‘ Majesty, the Patentee, and the Subject ; her
‘ Majesty the Head, the Patentee the Hand, and
‘ the Subject the Foot. Now here’s our Case,
‘ the Head gives Power to the Hands, the Hand
‘ oppresseth the Foot, the Foot riseth against the
‘ Head. We know the Power of her Majesty
‘ cannot be restrained by an Act, Why, therefore,
‘ should we thus talk ? Admit we should make this
‘ Statute with a *Non obstante*, yet the Queen may
‘ grant a Patent with a *Non obstante*, to cross
‘ this *Non obstante*, I think therefore, it agreeth
‘ more with the Gravity and Wisdom of this
‘ House

House, to proceed with all Humbleness by Petition than Bill.' Queen Elizabeth,
1601.

Mr *Wingfield*. ' I would but put the House in Mind of the Proceeding we had in this Matter the last Parliament; in the End whereof, our Speaker moved her Majesty, by Way of Petition, that the Grievs touching these Monopolies might be respected, and the Grievances coming of them might be redressed. Her Majesty answered, by the Lord Keeper, " That she would take Care of these Monopolies, and our Grievs should be redressed; if not, she would give us free Liberty to proceed in making a Law the next Parliament." The Grief, Mr Speaker, is still bleeding, and we green under the Sore, and are still without Remedy. It was my Hap the last Parliament to encounter with the Word *Prerogative*; but as then, so now I do it with all Humility, and wish all Happiness both unto it, and to her Majesty. I am indifferent touching our Proceeding either by Bill or Petition, so that therein our Grievances may follow, whereby her Majesty may specially understand them.

' Sir *Walter Raleigh*. ' I am urged to speak in two Respects; the one because I find myself touched in particular; the other, in that I take some Imputation of Slander to be offered unto her Majesty, I mean, by the Gentleman that first mentioned Tinn (Mr *Martin*) for that being one of the principal Commodities of this Kingdom, and being in *Cornwall*, it hath ever, so long as there were any, belonged to the Dukes of *Cornwall*, and they had special Patents of Privilege. It pleased her Majesty freely to bestow upon me that Privilege; and that Patent being, Word for Word, the very same the Duke's is, and because by reason of mine Office of Lord Warden of the Stannary, I can sufficiently inform this House of the State thereof; I will make bold to deliver it unto you. When the Tinn is taken

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

‘ taken out of the Mine, and melted and refined,
‘ then is every Piece, containing one hundred
‘ Weight, sealed with the Duke’s Seal. Now I
‘ will tell you, that before the granting of my
‘ Patent, whether Tinn were but of seventeen
‘ Shillings, and so upwards to fifty Shillings a hun-
‘ dred; yet the poor Workmen never had above
‘ two Shillings a Week, finding themselves: But
‘ since my Patent, whosoever will work, may;
‘ and buy Tinn at what Price soever, they have
‘ four Shillings a Week truly paid. There is no
‘ Poor that will work there, but may, and have
‘ that Wages. Notwithstanding, if all others may
‘ be repealed, I will give my Consent as freely
‘ to the Cancelling of this, as any Member of this
‘ House.’

‘ Mr *Downland*. ‘ If we proceed by Way
‘ of Petition, we can have no more gracious Ans-
‘ wer than we had the last Parliament to our Peti-
‘ tions. But since that Parliament, we have no
‘ Reformation; and the Reason why I think no
‘ Reformation hath been had, is, because I never
‘ heard the Cry against Monopolies greater and
‘ more vehement.’

Mr *Johnson*. ‘ I would we were all so happy, that
‘ her Gracious Self had heard but the fifth Part of
‘ that, that every one of us hath heard this Day; I
‘ think verily, in my Soul and Conscience, we
‘ should not be more desirous in having those Mo-
‘ nopolies called in, than she would be earnest
‘ therein herself.’

After all this Debate, the Question was put for
committing the Bill or not, and it was carried in
the Affirmative. On which a Committee was ap-
pointed, consisting of all the Members of the
Privy-Council, and the learned Counsel of that
House, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, Sir *Francis Hastings*,
Sir *Edward Stafford*, Sir *Edward Hobby*, Sir *George*
Moore, Sir *Robert Wroth*, and divers others.

In

In the Afternoon of the next Day, the Committee met; and our *Journalist* hath given some Particulars of what happened at their first Conference.

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

‘ Sir *Edward Hobby* informed the House of the great Abuse of the Patentee for Salt in his Country, That betwixt *Michaelmas* and *St. Andrew’s* Tide, where Salt (before the Patent) was wont to be sold for sixteen Pence a Bushel, it is now sold for fourteen or fifteen Shillings a Bushel: But, after the Lord President had Understanding thereof, he committed the Patentee, and caused it to be sold for sixteen Pence as before. To *Lyme*, there is brought every Year above three thousand Wey of Salt; and every Wey of Salt is, since the Patent, enhanced to twenty Shillings; and where the Bushel was wont to be eight Pence, it is now sixteen Pence. And I dare boldly say it, if this Patent were called in, there might well three thousand Pound a Year be saved in the Ports of *Lyme*, *Boston*, and *Hull*. I speak of white Salt.’

Mr. *Francis Bacon*. ‘ The Bill is very injurious and ridiculous; injurious, in that it taketh or rather sweepeth away her Majesty’s Prerogative; and ridiculous, in that there is a Proviso, that this Statute shall not extend to Grants made to Corporations;— that is a Gull to sweeten the Bill withal, it is only to make Fools fain. All Men of the Law know, that a Bill which is only expository, to expound the common Law, doth enact nothing; neither is any Promise of Good therein. And therefore the Proviso in the Statute of 34th *Henry VIII.* of Wills, (which is but a Statute expository of the Statute of 32d *Henry VIII.* of Wills) touching Sir *John Gainford’s* Will, was adjudged void. Therefore I think the Bill very unfit, and our Proceedings to be by Petition.’

Mr.

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

Mr. *Flemming* said (n), ‘ I will briefly give Account of all Things touching these Monopolies. Her Majesty in her provident Care, gave Charge unto Mr. Attorney and myself, That speedy and special Order may be taken for these Patents; this was in the Beginning of *Hillary* Term last: But you all know the Danger of that Time, and what great Affairs of Importance happened to prevent these Businesses; and since that Time, nothing could be done for Want of Leisure.’

Sir *Robert Wroth*. ‘ I would but note, Mr. Solicitor, That you were charged to take Order in *Hillary* Term last; Why not before? There was Time enough ever since the last Parliament. I speak it, and I speak it boldly, these Patentees are worse than ever they were: And I have heard a Gentleman affirm in this House, That there is a Clause of Revocation in these Patents; if so, what needed this Stir of *Scire facias*, *Quo Warranto*, and I know not what, when it is but only, to send for the Patentees, and cause a Redelivery? There have been divers Patents granted since the last Parliament; these are now in Being, *v.z.* The Patents for Currants, Iron, Powder, Cards, Ox-shin Bones, Train-Oyl, Transportation of Leather, Lifts of Cloth, Affhes, Anniseeds, Vinegar, Sea-Coals, Steel, Aquavitæ, Brushes, Pots, Salt-Petre, Lead, Accidences, Oyl, Calamin-Stone, Oyl of Blubber, Fumachoes or dried Piltchers in the Smoak, and divers others.’

Upon Reciting of the Patents aforesaid, Mr. *Hackwell* stood up and asked thus; ‘ Is not Bread there? Bread quoth one, Bread quoth another; this Voice seems strange quoth another; this Voice seems strange quoth a third: No, quoth Mr. *Hackwell*, But if Order be not taken for these, Bread will be there before the next Parliament.’

Mr.

(n) Solicitor-General.

Mr. *Heywood Townshend*, seeing a Disagreement of the Committee, made a Motion to this Effect: 'First, To put them in Mind of a Petition made the last Parliament, which, though it took no Effect, yet we should much wrong her Majesty and forget ourselves, if we should think to speed no better now in the like Case; because then there was a Commitment for this Purpose, and the Committees drew a Speech, which was delivered by the Speaker, Word for Word, at the End of this Parliament; but now we might help that, by sending our Speaker presently, after such a Committee and Speech made, with humble Suit, not only, to repeal all Monopolies grievous to the Subject; but also, that it would please her Majesty, to give us Leave to make an Act, that they might be of no more Force, Validity, or Effect, than they are at the common Law, without the Strength of her Prerogative. Which though we might now do, and the Act being so reasonable, we might assure ourselves, her Majesty would not delay the passing thereof, yet we her loving Subjects, would not offer, without her Privy or Consent, (the Cause so nearly touching her Prerogative,) or go about to do any such Act. And also, that at the Committee which should make this Speech, every Member of this House, which either found himself, his Town, or Country grieved, might put in (in fair Writing) such Exceptions against Monopolies, as he would justify to be true: And that the Speaker might deliver them with his own Hands, because many Obstacles and Hindrances might happen.'

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

Mr. *Francis Bacon*. 'Why, you have the readiest Course that possibly can be devised. I would wish no further Order be taken, but to prefer the wise and discreet Speech made by the young Gentleman (even the youngest in this Assembly) that spake last. I will tell you, that even, *ex*
' *Ore*

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

' *Ore Infantium & Lactantium*, the true and most certain Course is propounded unto us.'

The Committee agreed to this Motion, and appointed to meet again on the 23d Instant.

On which Day the Subject of Monopolies was again reassumed in the House, and Mr. *Spicer* said, Mr. Speaker, ' I think it were good this Bill were recommitted; I am no Apostate, but I stick to the former Faith and Opinion that I was of, that, by Way of Petition, will be our safest Course; for, it is to no Purpose to offer to tie her Hands by Act of Parliament, when she may loosen herself at her Pleasure. I think, it were a Course, *nec gratum, nec tutum*. And therefore, the best Way is to have a Committee to consider what Course shall be proceeded in; for, I doubt not, but we be all agreed of the Reformation, though not of the Manner.'

Mr. *Davies* said, ' God hath given that Power to absolute Princes which he attributeth to himself, *Dixi quod Dii estis*. And as Attributes unto them, he hath given Majesty, Justice and Mercy; Majesty, in respect of the Honour that the Subject sheweth to his Prince; Justice, in respect he can do no Wrong, therefore the Law is in Henry VII. *That the King cannot commit a Disseizin*; Mercy, in respect he giveth Leave to Subjects, to right themselves by Law: And therefore in 43 *Affis*. an Indictment was brought against Bakers and Brewers, for that, by Colour of Licence, they had broken the Assize; wherefore according to that Precedent, I think it most fit to proceed by Bill, not by Petition.'

Mr. Secretary *Cecil*. ' If there had not been some Mistaking or some Confusion in the Committee, I would not now have spoken. The Question was, of the most convenient Way to reform these Grievances of Monopoly: But after Disputation, of the Labour we have not received

' ceived the expected Fruit. If every Man shall
 ' take Leave to speak for the common Subject, I
 ' am afraid in these vast Powers of our Mind, we
 ' shall dispute the Project of Reformation quite
 ' out of Doors. This Dispute draws two great
 ' Things in Question; first, The Prince's Power;
 ' secondly, The Freedom of *Englishmen*. I am
 ' born an *Englishman*, and am a Fellow-Member
 ' of this House; I would desire to live no Day, in
 ' which I should detract from either. I am Ser-
 ' vant unto the Queen; and before I would speak
 ' or give Consent to a Case, that should debase her
 ' Prerogative or abridge it, I would wish my Tongue
 ' cut out of my Head. I am sure, there were Law-
 ' makers before there were Laws. One Gentle-
 ' man went about to possess us, with the Executi-
 ' on of the Law in an antient Record of 10th King
 ' *Edward III.* likely enough to be true in that
 ' Time, when the King was afraid of the Subject.
 ' Though this Precedent be a Substance, yet it is
 ' not the Whole of the Parliament. For in for-
 ' mer Times, all sate together as well King as
 ' Subject; and then, it was no Prejudice to his
 ' Prerogative to have such a Monopoly examined.
 ' If you stand upon Law, and dispute of the Pre-
 ' rogative, heark ye what *Bracton* saith, *Præroga-*
 ' *tivam Nostram Nemo audeat disputare.* And for
 ' my own Part, I like not these Courses should be
 ' taken. And you Mr. Speaker, should perform
 ' the Charge her Majesty gave unto you in the Be-
 ' ginning of this Parliament, not to receive Bills
 ' of this Nature; for her Majesty's Ears be open
 ' to all Grievances; and her Hand stretch'd out
 ' to every Man's Petitions. For the Matter of
 ' Access I like it well, so it be first moved and
 ' the Way prepared. I had rather all the Patents
 ' were destroyed, than her Majesty should lose the
 ' Hearts of so many Subjects as is pretended. I
 ' will tell you what I think of these Monopolies:
 ' I take them to be of three Natures, some of a
 ' free Nature and good, some void of themselves,
 ' some both good and void. For the first, when
 ' the

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 1601.

Queen Elizabeth
1601.

‘ the Prince dispenses with a penal Law that is
‘ left to the Alteration of Sovereignty, I think it
‘ powerful and irrevocable. For the second, as to
‘ grant that which taketh from the Subject his
‘ Birthright, such Men as desire these kind of Pa-
‘ tents, I account them Misdoers and wilful and
‘ wicked Offenders. Of the third sort is, the Li-
‘ cence for the Matter of Cards, &c. And there-
‘ fore I think, it were fit to have a new Commit-
‘ ment, to consider what her Majesty may grant,
‘ what not; what Course we shall take, and upon
‘ what Points.’

Mr. *Montague*. ‘ I am loth to speak what I
‘ know, lest perhaps I should displease. The
‘ Prerogative Royal is that which is now in Que-
‘ stion, and which the Laws of the Land have
‘ ever allowed and maintained. Then my Mo-
‘ tion shall be but this, That we may be Suitors
‘ unto her Majesty, that the Patentees shall have
‘ no other Remedies than by the Laws of the
‘ Realm they may have, and that our Act may be
‘ accordingly.’

Mr. *Martin*. ‘ I think the common Grievance
‘ and the Queen’s Prerogative have inspired this
‘ Gentleman that spake last (whom for Reverence
‘ sake, I must needs name, Mr. *Montague*,) to
‘ make that Motion which he hath done.’

Then a Committee was appointed to meet the
same Day in the Afternoon, when Mr. Secretary
Cecil shew’d the Committee a large Catalogue con-
sisting of near forty different Patents, (o) mostly
granted since the sixteenth Year of the Queen’s
Reign.

Whereupon after Mr. *Davis* had moved to
have these Monopolies proceeded against by Bill,
and Mr. *Martin* had moved to have them dealt
in by Petition to her Majesty, and that the House
had

(o) All the particular Patents are mention’d in *Dewes’s Journals*.

had heard the particular Relation of the said ^{Queen Elizabeth.} Monopolies, there was nothing concluded upon.' 1601.

But in the Morning of next Day, *November 24*, upon loud Confusion in the House about these Monopolies, Mr Secretary *Cecil* stood up, and said, 'The Duty I owe, and my Zeal to extinguish Monopolies, makes me to speak now, and to satisfy their Opinions that think there shall be no Redress of these Monopolies. Order is attended with these two Handmaids, Gravity and Zeal; but Zeal with Discretion. I have been (though unworthy) a Member of this House in six or seven Parliaments, yet never did I see the House in so great Confusion. I believe there never was in any Parliament a more tender Point handled than the Liberty of the Subject. But that when any is discussing this Point, he should be cried and cought down; this is more fit for a Grammar-School than a Court of Parliament. I have been a Counsellor of State these twelve Years, yet did I never know it subject to Construction of Levity and Disorder. Much more ought we to be regardful in so great and grave an Assembly. Why, we have had Speeches upon Speeches, without either Order or Discretion. One would have had us proceed by Bill, and see if the Queen would have denied it: Another, that the Patents should be brought here before us and cancelled; and this was bravely done. Others would have us to proceed by way of Petition, which Course, doubtless, is best; but for the first, and especially for the second, it is so ridiculous, that I think we should have as bad Success as the Devil himself would have wished in so good a Cause. Why, if idle Courses had been followed, we should have gone, forsooth, to the Queen with a Petition to have repealed a Patent of Monopoly of Tobacco-Pipes, and I know not how many Conceits; but I wish every Man to rest satisfied 'till the Committees have brought in

Queen Elizabeth. 1601. ' their Resolutions according to your Command-
' ments.'

The next Day, after some Bills had been read in the House, and Silence commanded, the Speaker arose out of his Chair, and every Man wondering why he stood up, he said,

The Speaker acquaints the House, by the Queen's Order, that the Monopolies shall be revoked.

' It pleased her Majesty to command me to attend upon her Yesterday in the Afternoon, from whom I am to deliver unto you all, her Majesty's most gracious Message sent by my unworthy Self. She yields you all hearty Thanks for your Care and special Regard of those Things that concern her State, Kingdom, and consequently ourselves, whose Good she had always tendered as her own; for our speedy Resolution in making of so hasty and free a Subsidy; which commonly succeeded but never went before our Councils; and for our Loyalty: I do assure you with such and so great Zeal and Affection she uttered and shewed the same, that to express it, our Tongues are not able, neither our Hearts to conceive it. It pleased her Majesty to say unto me, That if she had an hundred Tongues she could not express our hearty Good-Wills. And further she said, That as she had ever held our Good most dear, so the last Day of our (or her) Life should witness it; and that the least of her Subjects was not grieved, and she not touched. She appealed to the Throne of Almighty God, how careful she hath been, and will be, to defend her People from all Oppressions. She said, That partly by Intimation of her Council, and partly by divers Petitions that have been delivered unto her both going to the Chapel and also to walk Abroad, she understood that divers Patents, which she had granted, were grievous to her Subjects; and that the Substitutes of the Patentees had used great Oppressions. But she said, She never assented to grant any Thing which was *Malum in se*. And if in the Abuse of her Grant there be any Thing evil (which she took
' Know-

‘ Knowledge there was) she herself would take Queen Elizabeth.
1601.
 ‘ present Order of Reformation. I cannot express
 ‘ unto you the apparent Indignation of her Majesty
 ‘ towards these Abuses. She said that her Kingly
 ‘ Prerogative (for so she termed it) was tender;
 ‘ and therefore desireth us not to fear or doubt of
 ‘ her careful Reformation; for she said, that her
 ‘ Commandment was given a little before the late
 ‘ Troubles, (meaning the Earl of *Essex*’s Matters,)
 ‘ but had an unfortunate Event: But that in the
 ‘ midst of her most great and weighty Occasions,
 ‘ she thought upon them. And that this should
 ‘ not suffice, but that further Order should be taken
 ‘ presently, and not *in futuro*, (for that also was
 ‘ another Word, which I take it, her Majesty used;)
 ‘ and that some should be presently repealed, some
 ‘ suspended, and none put in Execution, but such
 ‘ as should first have a Tryal according to the Law
 ‘ for the Good of the People. Against the Abuses
 ‘ her Wrath was so incensed, that she said, that
 ‘ she neither could nor would suffer such to escape
 ‘ with Impunity. So to my unspeakable Com-
 ‘ fort, she hath made me the Messenger of this
 ‘ her gracious Thankfulness and Care. Now we
 ‘ see that the Ax of her Princely Justice is laid to
 ‘ the Root of the Tree; and so we see her Good-
 ‘ ness hath prevented our Counsels and Consulta-
 ‘ tions. God make us thankful, and send her
 ‘ long to reign amongst us. If through Weakness
 ‘ of Memory, Want of Utterance, or Frailty of
 ‘ myself, I have omitted any Thing of her Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Commands, I do most humbly crave Par-
 ‘ don for the same; and do beseech the honourable
 ‘ Persons which assist this Chair, and were present
 ‘ before her Majesty at the Delivery hereof, to
 ‘ supply and help my Imperfections; which joined
 ‘ with my Fear, have caused me (no doubt) to
 ‘ forget something which I should have delivered
 ‘ unto you.’

‘ After a little Pause and low Talking one with
 another, Mr. Secretary *Cecil* stood up and said,

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1601.

Secretary Cecil's
Speech to the
same Effect,

‘ There needs no Supply of the Memory
‘ of the Speaker: But, because it pleased him
‘ to desire some that be about him to aid his
‘ Delivery, and because the rest of my Fellows be
‘ silent, I will take upon me to deliver something
‘ which I both then heard, and since know. I
‘ was present with the rest of my Fellow-Coun-
‘ sellors, and the Message was the same that hath
‘ been told you; and the Cause hath not succeeded
‘ from any particular Course thought upon, but
‘ from private Informations of some particular
‘ Persons. I have been very inquisitive of them,
‘ and of the Cause why more Importunity was
‘ now used than afore; which I am afraid, comes
‘ by being acquainted with some Course of Pro-
‘ ceeding in this House. There are no Patents
‘ now of Force, which shall not presently be re-
‘ voked; for what Patent soever is granted, there
‘ shall be left to the Overthrow of that Patent,
‘ a Liberty agreeable to the Law. There is no
‘ Patent if it be *Malum in se*, but the Queen was
‘ ill apprized in her Grant. But all to the Gene-
‘ rality be unacceptable. I take it, there is no Pa-
‘ tent whereof the Execution hath not been inju-
‘ rious. Would that they had never been granted.
‘ I hope there shall never be more. [All the House
‘ said *Amen.*] In particular, most of these Patents
‘ have been supported by Letters of Assistance from
‘ her Majesty's Privy-Council; but whosoever
‘ looks upon them shall find, that they carry no
‘ other Stile, than with relation to the Patent. I
‘ dare assure you from henceforth there shall be no
‘ more granted, They shall all be revoked. But
‘ to whom do they repair with these Letters? to
‘ some Out-house, to some desolate Widow, to
‘ some simple Cottage, or poor ignorant People,
‘ who rather than they would be troubled and un-
‘ do themselves by coming up hither, will give
‘ any thing in reason for these Caterpillar's Satisfac-
‘ tion. The Notice of this is now public, and
‘ you will perhaps judge this to be a Tale to serve
‘ the Time. But I would have all Men to know
‘ thus

' thus much, that it is no Jestings with a Court of
 ' Parliament; neither dares any Man (for my own
 ' Part, I dare not) so mock and abuse all the States
 ' of this Kingdom, in a Matter of this Conse-
 ' quence and Importance. I say therefore, there
 ' shall be a Proclamation general throughout the
 ' Realm, to notify her Majesty's Resolution in
 ' this Behalf. And because you may eat your
 ' Meat more savoury than you have done, every
 ' Man shall have Salt as good and cheap as he can
 ' buy it or make it, freely without Danger of that
 ' Patent, which shall be presently revoked. The
 ' same Benefit shall they have which have cold
 ' Stomachs, both for *Aquavitæ* and *Aqua composita*
 ' and the like. And they that have weak Sto-
 ' machs, for their Satisfaction, shall have Vinegar
 ' and Alegar, and the like, set at Liberty. Train-
 ' Oyl shall go the same Way; Oyl of Blubber
 ' shall march in equal Rank; Brushes and Bottles
 ' endure the like Judgment. The Patent for Poul-
 ' davy, if it be not called in, it shall be. Oade,
 ' which, as I take it, is not restrained either by
 ' Law or Statute, but only by Proclamation (I mean
 ' from the former Sowing) though for the saving
 ' thereof it might receive good Disputation; yet
 ' for your Satisfaction, the Queen's Pleasure is to
 ' revoke that Proclamation; only she prayeth thus
 ' much, that when she cometh on Progress to see
 ' you in your Countries, she be not driven out of
 ' your Towns by suffering it to infect the Air
 ' too near them. Those that desire to go sprucely
 ' in their Ruffs, may at less Charge than accus-
 ' tomed, obtain their Wish; for the Patent for Starch,
 ' which hath so much been prosecuted, shall now
 ' be repealed. There are other Patents which be
 ' considerable, as the Patent of New-Drapery,
 ' which shall be suspended and left to the Law:
 ' Irish Yarn, a Matter that I am sorry there is
 ' Cause of Complaint; for the Salvageness of the
 ' People and the War have frustrated the Hope of
 ' the Patentee; a Gentleman of good Service and
 ' Desert, a good Subject to her Majesty, and a
 ' good

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‘ good Member of the Common-Wealth, Mr.
 ‘ *Carmarthen*: Notwithstanding, it shall be sus-
 ‘ pended and left to the Law. The Patent for
 ‘ Calf-Skins and Fells, which was made with a
 ‘ Relation, shall endure the Censure of the Law.
 ‘ But I must tell you, there is no Reason that all
 ‘ should be revoked, for the Queen means not to
 ‘ be swept out of her Prerogative. I say, it shall
 ‘ be suspended, if the Law do not warrant it.
 ‘ There is another Servant of her Majesty’s, Mr.
 ‘ *Onslow*, one of her Pensioners, an honest Gen-
 ‘ tleman and a faithful Servant, he hath the Patent
 ‘ for Steel, which one Mr. *Beale* once had; this
 ‘ too because of Complaints shall be suspended.
 ‘ There is another that hath the Patent for Leather,
 ‘ Sir *Edward Dyer*, a Gentleman of good Desert,
 ‘ honest, religious, and wise; this was granted un-
 ‘ to him thirty Years ago. It crept not in by the
 ‘ new Misgovernment of the Time; yet this shall
 ‘ also be suspended. The Patent for Cards shall
 ‘ be suspended and tryable by the common Law.
 ‘ The Patent for Glasses, which though I do least
 ‘ apprehend to be prejudicial to the public Good,
 ‘ yet it is left to the Law. There is another Pa-
 ‘ tent for Saltpetre, that hath been both accused
 ‘ and slandered; it digs into every Man’s House, it
 ‘ annoys the Inhabitant, and generally troubleth
 ‘ the Subject; for this I beseech you be contented.
 ‘ Yet I know, I am to blame to desire it, it being
 ‘ condemned by you *in Foro Conscientiæ*; but I
 ‘ assure you it shall be fully sifted and tryed in *Foro*
 ‘ *Judicii*. Her Majesty means to take this Patent
 ‘ unto herself, and advise with her Counsel touch-
 ‘ ing the same. For I must tell you the Kingdom
 ‘ is not so well furnished with Powder as now it
 ‘ should be. But if it be thought fit upon Advice
 ‘ to be cancelled, her Majesty commanded me to
 ‘ tell you, that though she be willing to help the
 ‘ grave Gentleman that hath that Patent, yet out
 ‘ of that abundant Desire that she hath to give you
 ‘ compleat Satisfaction, it shall be repealed. This
 ‘ hath come to the Ear of the Queen, and I
 ‘ have

‘ have been most earnest to search for the Instru-
 ‘ ment, and as a Counsellor of State, have done
 ‘ my best Endeavour to salve the Sore; but I fear
 ‘ we are not secret within ourselves. Then I must
 ‘ needs give you this for a future Caution, That
 ‘ whatsoever is subject to public Expectation can-
 ‘ not be good, while the Parliament-Matters are
 ‘ ordinary Talk in the Street. I have heard my-
 ‘ sel, being in my Coach, these Words spoken
 ‘ aloud, *God prosper those that further the Over-
 ‘ throw of these Monopolies, God send the Preroga-
 ‘ tive touch not our Liberty!* I will not wrong any
 ‘ so much as to imagine he was of this Assembly;
 ‘ yet let me give you this Note, That the Time
 ‘ was never more apt to disorder and make ill In-
 ‘ terpretation of good Meaning; I think, those
 ‘ Persons would be glad that all Sovereignty were
 ‘ converted into Popularity; we being here, are
 ‘ but the popular Mouth, and our Liberty, the
 ‘ Liberty of the Subject: And the World is apt
 ‘ to slander, most especially, the Ministers of Go-
 ‘ vernment.

‘ Thus much have I spoken to accomplish my
 ‘ Duty unto her Majesty, but not to make any
 ‘ further Performance of the well uttered and gravely
 ‘ and truly delivered Speech of the Speaker. But
 ‘ I must crave your Favours a little longer to make
 ‘ an Apology for my self. I have held the Favour
 ‘ of this House as dear as my Life, and I have been
 ‘ told that I deserved to be taxed Yesterday of the
 ‘ House. I protest my Zeal to have the Business
 ‘ go forward in a right and hopeful Course; and
 ‘ my Fear to displease her Majesty, by a harsh and
 ‘ rash Proceeding, made me so much to lay aside
 ‘ my Discretion, that I said it might rather be termed
 ‘ a School than a Council, or to that Effect. But
 ‘ by this Speech if any think I called him School-
 ‘ Boy, he both wrongs me and mistakes me. Shall
 ‘ I tell you what *Demosthenes* said to the Clamours
 ‘ which the *Athenians* made, that they were *Puc-
 ‘ riles & dignos Pueris*. And yet that was to a po-
 ‘ pular State. And I wish that whatsoever is here
 ‘ spo-

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‘ spoken may be buried within these Walls. Let
‘ us take Example of the Jewish Synagogue, who
‘ would always *Sepelire Senatum cum Honore*, and
‘ not blast their own Follies and Imperfections. If
‘ any Man in this House speak wisely, we do him
‘ great Wrong to interrupt him; if foolishly, let
‘ us hear him out, we shall have the more Cause
‘ to tax him. And I do heartily pray, that no
‘ Member of this House may *plus Verbis offendere*
‘ *quam Consilio juvare.*’

Motion for an
Address of
Thanks, &c. to
the Queen upon
that Occasion.

Mr. Francis Moore. ‘ I must confess Mr. Spea-
ker, I moved the House both the last Parliament
‘ and this touching this Point; but I never meant
‘ (and I hope this House thinketh so) to set Limits
‘ and Bounds to the Prerogative Royal. But now
‘ seeing it hath pleased her Majesty of her self, out
‘ of the Abundance of her Princely Goodness, to set
‘ at Liberty her Subjects from the Thralldom of those
‘ Monopolies, from which there was no Town,
‘ City or Country, free; I would be bold, in one
‘ Motion, to offer two Considerations to this House.
‘ The first, that Mr. Speaker might go unto her
‘ Majesty, to yield her our most humble and hearty
‘ Thanks, and withal to shew the Joy of her Subjects
‘ for their Delivery, and their Thankfulness unto her
‘ for the same: The other, that where divers
‘ Speeches have been made extravagantly in this
‘ House, which doubtless have been told her Ma-
‘ jesty, and perhaps all ill conceived of by her; I
‘ would therefore that Mr. Speaker not only should
‘ satisfy her Majesty, by way of Apology, therein,
‘ but also humbly crave Pardon for the same.’

Mr. Wingfield said, ‘ My Heart is not able to
‘ conceive the Joy which I feel, and I assure you
‘ my Tongue cannot utter the same. If a Sen-
‘ tence of Everlasting Happiness had been pronoun-
‘ ced unto me, it could not have made me shew
‘ more outward Joy than now I do, which I can-
‘ not refrain to express; there could nothing have
‘ been more acceptable to the Subject than this
‘ Message. And I verily think, if ever any of
‘ her Majesty’s Works be meritorious before God,
‘ this

‘ this is. I do agree with all my Heart in the first
 ‘ Part of the Gentleman’s Motion that last spake;
 ‘ but do utterly mislike the latter: For it is not to
 ‘ be intended, we should have had so good and
 ‘ gracious a Message, if the Truth of some particu-
 ‘ lar Speeches had been delivered unto her. And
 ‘ now for us to accuse our selves, by excusing a
 ‘ Fault with which we are not charged, were a
 ‘ Thing in my Opinion inconvenient, and unfitting
 ‘ the Wisdom of this House.’

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Sir *George Moore*, spake to the same Effect.

Sir *Francis Bacon*, spake to the same Effect also,
 and concluded thus, ‘ *Nescio quid Peccati portet hæc*
 ‘ *Purgatio.*’

‘ So it was put to the Question and concluded,
 that Thanks should be returned by the Speaker, and
 twelve Members were named to go with him as a
 convenient Number; and Intreaty made to the Privy
 Council to obtain Liberty to be admitted.’

But to shew, that in the midst of all other Bu-
 siness, this Affair of Monopolies was still at Heart;
 on the 27th Instant, one Mr. *Downald* moved the
 House, ‘ First, That this gracious Message, which
 ‘ had been sent from her Majesty, might be written
 ‘ in the Books of Records of this House, (being
 ‘ worthy to be written in Gold) as well as it is
 ‘ written and fixed in the true Heart of every good
 ‘ Subject; Secondly, That the Honourable As-
 ‘ sembly of this House would move her Majesty,
 ‘ and be earnest Means of Speed, lest that which is
 ‘ now meant indeed, may, by Protraction of Time
 ‘ be altered, or perhaps not so happily effected.’

Mr. Secretary *Cecil* said, ‘ I promised to be as
 ‘ silent as I could. Among much Speech of the
 ‘ Wise, there wants not much Folly, much more in
 ‘ me. I do not speak because I do dislike the Mo-
 ‘ tion of the Gentleman that last spake, but to de-
 ‘ fend the Diligence and Grace of the Queen. It is
 ‘ no Matter of Toy for a Prince to notify in pub-
 ‘ lic a Matter of this Weight. Though the Idol of
 ‘ a Monopoly be a great Monster, yet after two
 ‘ or three days I doubt not but you shall see him
 ‘ dis-

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‘dismember’d: And I protest there is not any Soul that lives deserves Thanks in this Cause but our Sovereign. Yesterday the Queen gave Order for a Draught of a Proclamation. I had it in my Hand. You all know, I went even now out of the House; then I read it, and sent for him that should deliver it to her Hands. Now what needs this new Zeal?’

Mr. *Davis* said, ‘Mr. Speaker, I stood up before to speak, it is not much I had to say; only this, that which was delivered unto you from her Sacred Self, I think to be Gospel, that is, Glad Tidings: And as the Gospel is registred and written, so would I have that also; for if ever glad Tidings came to the Heart of the Subject, they now come. This is all Sir.’

Sir *George Moore* said, ‘This eating and fretting Disease of Monopolies I have ever detested with my Heart; and the greater the Grievance is, the more inestimable is the grave Wisdom of her Majesty in repealing them. And therefore for us to think we can sufficiently requite the same, it were to hold a Candle before the Sun to dim the Light. And seeing she, in her Clemency and Care to us, hath taken the Matter into her own Hands, I wish the Matter may be no more spoke of, much less proceeded in.’

Sir *Francis Hastings* said, ‘It ought to be written in the Tables of our Hearts, &c.’

Mr. *Lawrence Hide*. ‘I think the Gentleman that set this Motion on foot, spake out of Joy for her Majesty’s Grace and Zeal to have Performance of her Promise. In that he wished it might be recorded in Paper here or Parchment, it is not to be intended but he meant also in our Hearts, which remain no longer than we live: But Records remain long, and will give a lively Memory in Ages to come. And therefore for that part of his Motion I think it very good, and wish the Clerk may do it accordingly.’

Mr. Comptroller, ‘I think he that first moved this Question, exceedingly forgot himself, and exceeded-

ceedingly detracted from her Majesty; who, I ^{Queen Elizabeth.}
know, out of her abundant Love and Grace to this ^{1601.}
House, hath taken such speedy Course, as hath
been delivered by my Fellow-Counsellor. With
that Affection she embraceth this House, that in
more Familiar than Princely sort, it hath pleased
her to say, 'Recommend me to the House with
Thanks for their Promise and Care for their com-
mon Good.'

Mr. Speaker said, 'My Heart is not able to
conceive, nor my Tongue to utter the Joy I
conceived of her Majesties gracious and especial
Care for our Good. Wherefore as God him-
self said, *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo*, so may
her Majesty say, in that she herself will be the
only and speedy Agent for Performance of our
most humble and most wished Desires. Where-
fore let us not doubt but, as she hath been, so she
still will be, our most Gracious Sovereign and
natural Nursing-Mother unto us. Whole Days
the 'Almighty God prolong to all our Comforts.'
All said *Amen*.

On the Day after, Mr. Secretary declared, 'That
according to the Direction of this House, her
Majesty hath been informed of the exceeding and
inestimable Joy and Comfort, which this House
hath received by a Message, lately published, sent
from her Highness by Mr. Speaker: And hath
been likewise moved to signify her Highness's
Pleasure touching the Determination of this House,
in appointing Mr. Speaker, with some selected
Company of the same, to render the most humble
and dutiful Thanks of this whole House, for the
said most gracious, most princely and com-
fortable Message: And her gracious Answer was,
That her Majesty being acquainted with the said
Desires of this House, did vouchsafe that Mr.
Speaker with forty, fifty, or a hundred of this
House, such as should thereunto be appointed,
should have Access unto her Majesty for the same
Purpose, upon *Monday* next in the Afternoon, at
the Court, and should be all welcome.'

Where-

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A large Committee attend her Majesty there-with.

Whereupon were appointed the Knights for all the Shires, Lord *Howard*, Lord *Clinton*, all Knights, Members of this House, and several others.

Mr. Comptroller added, that the Queen had commanded him to tell the House, 'That the Reason of her Limitation of having a convenient Number was, that the Place whereunto we should come, was not big enough to receive us All.'

And now, to make an End of this long and important Affair ; on the 30th Day of *November* in the Afternoon, the Speaker with about seven Score of the Commons met at the great Chamber before the Council Room ; when all being admitted into the said Room, the Queen sitting under a Canopy at the upper End of it ; the Speaker, after three low Reverences made, spake as follows.

The Speaker's Speech.

Most Sacred and more than most gracious Sovereign.
' **W**E your faithful, loyal and obedient Subjects and Commons here present, vouchsafed of your especial Goodness (to our unspeakable Comfort) Access to your sacred Presence, do in all Duty and Humbleness, come to present that which no Words can express, most humble and thankful Acknowledgement of your most gracious Message, and most bounden and humble Thanks for your Majesty's most abundant Goodness extended and performed to us. We cannot say, most Gracious Sovereign, We have called and been heard, We have complained and have been helped ; though in all Duty and Thankfulness we acknowledge, your Sacred Ears are ever open, and ever bowed down to hear us, and your blessed Hands ever stretched out to relieve us ; We acknowledge, (Sacred Sovereign) in all Duty and Thankfulness we acknowledge, that before we call, your preventing Grace and All-deserving Goodness doth watch over us for our Good ; more ready to give than we can desire, much less deserve. That Attribute which is most proper unto God, to perform all he promiseth, appertaineth also unto you our Most Gracious Sovereign
Queen

Queen of all Truth, of all Constancy, of all Goodness, never wearied in doing Good unto us; (the Deeds themselves do speak) most careful to provide all good Things for us; most gracious, most tender to remove all Grievances from us, which all your Princely Actions have ever shewed, and even now your most gracious published Proclamation, of your own only meer Motion and special Grace for the Good of all your People, doth witness to us. We come not, Sacred Sovereign, one of ten to render Thanks, and the rest to go away unthankful; but All of us, in all Duty and Thankfulness, do throw down ourselves at the Feet of your Majesty, do praise God and bless your Majesty. Neither do we present our Thanks in Words of any outward Thing, which can be no sufficient Retribution for so great Goodness; but, in all Duty and Thankfulness, prostrate at your Feet, we present our most loyal and thankful Hearts, even the last Drop of Blood in our Hearts, and the last Spirit of Breath in our Nostrills, to be poured out, to be breathed up for your Safety.

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Then after three low Reverences made, He with the rest kneeled down, and her Majesty began thus to answer herself, viz.

Mr. Speaker,

WE have heard your Declaration, and perceive your Care of our State, by falling into the Consideration of a grateful Acknowledgment of such Benefits as you have received; and that your Coming is to present Thanks unto us, which I accept with no less Joy than your Loves can have Desire to offer such a Present. I do assure you, that there is no Prince that loveth his Subjects better, or whose Love can countervail our Love; there is no Jewel, be it of never so rich a Price, which I prefer before this Jewel, I mean your Love; for I do more esteem it than any Treasure or Riches; for that we know how to prize, but Love and Thanks I count inestimable.

The Queen's
Answer.

And

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And though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the Glory of my Crown, that I have reigned with your Loves. This makes me that I do not so much rejoice, that God hath made me to be a Queen, as to be a Queen over so thankful a People. Therefore I have Cause to wish nothing more than to content the Subject, and that is a Duty which I owe. Neither do I desire to live longer Days, than that I may see your Prosperity, and that's my only Desire. And as I am that Person that still, yet under God, hath delivered you; so I trust, by the Almighty Power of God, that I still shall be his Instrument to preserve you from Envy, Peril, Dishonour, Shame, Tyranny and Oppression, partly by Means of your intended Helps, which we take very acceptably, because it manifesteth the Largeness of your Loves, and Loyalties unto your Sovereign. Of myself I must say this, I never was any greedy, scraping Grasper, nor a strict fast-holding Prince, nor yet a Waster; my Heart was never set on Worldly Goods, but only for my Subjects Good. What you do bestow on me, I will not board it up, but receive it to bestow on you again. Yea mine own Properties I count yours, to be expended for your Good. Therefore render unto them from me, I beseech you, Mr. Speaker, such Thanks as you imagine my Heart yieldeth, but my Tongue cannot express.

All this while they kneeled. Whereupon her Majesty said, Mr. Speaker, I would wish you and the rest to stand up, for I shall yet trouble you with longer Speech. So they all stood up, and she went on in her Speech.

Mr. Speaker, you give me Thanks, but I doubt me, I have more Cause to thank you all, than you me: And I charge you to thank them of the House of Commons from me: For had I not received a Knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the Lap of an Error, only for Lack of true Information. Since I was Queen, yet never did I put my Pen to any Grant, but that upon Pretext and Semblance made unto me, that it was both good and beneficial to the Subjects in general, though a private Profit to some
of

of my antient Servants who had deserved well: But the contrary being found by Experience, I am exceeding beholding to such Subjects as would move the same at first. And I am not so simple to suppose, but that there be some of the Lower House whom these Grievances never touched; and for them I think they speak out of Zeal to their Countries, and not out of Spleen or malevolent Affection, as being Parties grieved; and I take it exceeding grateful from them, because it gives us to know that no Respects or Interests had moved them, other than the Minds they bear to suffer no Diminution of our Honour, and our Subjects Love unto us. The Zeal of which Affection, tending to ease my People and knit their Hearts unto me, I embrace with a Princely Care; far above all Earthly Treasure I esteem my People's Love, more than which I desire not to merit. That my Grants should be grievous to my People, and Oppressions to be privileged under Colour of our Patents, our Kingly Dignity shall not suffer it; yea, when I heard it, I could give no Rest to my Thoughts until I had reformed it. Shall they think to escape unpunished, that have thus oppressed you, and have been respectless of their Duty, and regardless of our Honour? No. Mr. Speaker, I assure you, it is more for Conscience-Sake, than for any Glory or Increase of Love, that I desire these Errors, Troubles, Vexations and Oppressions done by these Varlets and lewd Persons, not worthy the Name of Subjects, should not escape without condign Punishment. But I perceive they dealt with me like Physicians, who ministring a Drug make it more acceptable by giving it a good Aromatical Savour, or when they give Pills do gild them all over. I have ever used to set the last Judgment Day before mine Eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher Judge. To whose Judgment Seat I do appeal, that never Thought was cherished in my Heart that tended not to my People's Good. And now if my Kingly Bounty hath been abused, and my Grants turned to the Hurt of my People, contrary to my Will and Meaning; or if any in Authority under me, have neglected or perverted what I have

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committed to them, I hope God will not lay their Culps and Offences to my Charge; and though there were Danger in repealing our Grants, yet what Danger would not I rather incur for your Good, than I would suffer them still to continue? I know the Title of a King is a glorious Title; but assure yourself, that the shining Glory of Princely Authority hath not so dazzled the Eyes of our Understanding, but that we well know and remember, that we also are to yield an Account of our Actions before the Great Judge. To be a King and wear a Crown is more glorious to them that see it, than it is Pleasure to them that bear it. For myself, I was never so much enticed with the glorious Name of a King, or Royal Authority of a Queen, as delighted that God hath made me his Instrument to maintain his Truth and Glory, and to defend this Kingdom (as I said) from Peril, Dishonour, Tyranny and Oppression. There will never Queen sit in my Seat with more Zeal to my Country, or Care to my Subjects, and that will sooner, with Willingness, yield and venture her Life for your Good and Safety than myself. And though you have had, and may have, many Princes more mighty and wise, sitting in this Seat, yet you never had, or shall have, any that will be more careful and loving. Should I ascribe any thing to myself and my sexly Weakness, I were not worthy to live then, and of all most unworthy of the Mercies I have had from God, who hath ever yet given me a Heart which never yet feared Foreign or Home Enemies. I speak it to give God the Praise as a Testimony before you, and not to attribute any thing unto myself; For I, O Lord, what am I, whom Practices and Perils past should not fear! O what can I do (these she spake with a great Emphasis) that I should speak for any Glory! God forbid. This, Mr. Speaker, I pray you, deliver unto the House, to whom heartily recommend me. And so I commit you all to your best Fortunes, and further Councils. And I pray you, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary, and you of my Council, that before these Gentlemen depart into their Countries, you bring them all to kiss my Hand.

All

All this Time the Subsidy Bill laid dormant; for it had a Second Reading only, in the Morning of that Day the House went up with their Address of Thanks to the Queen. But on the 5th of *December*, the Bill for granting *four entire Subsidies and eight Fifteenths and Tenths* was read a third Time; passed upon the Question, without any Manner of Opposition; and concluded in the Lords on the 15th.

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These additional Numbers of *Subsidies, Fifteenths and Tenths*, which grew like *Falstaff's* Buckram-Men, were monstrous Things in those Days; and we cannot avoid giving a Note, which *Sir Symonds Dewes* makes on this Occasion.

‘*Nota*, That whereas in the Parliament which was begun and holden at *Westminster* in *An. 35 Eliz. Anno Dom. 1592.* the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons were not drawn without much and long Dispute, both amongst themselves and with the Lords, to yield unto the Grant of three Subsidies and six Fifteenths and Tenths (being a greater Gift than had ever before been given unto her Majesty) and that the same was then also assented unto in respect of the great Dangers newly threatned unto her Majesty from *Rome* and *Spain*; with Caution and Promise, nevertheless, that it should not be drawn into Precedent for future Times; yet in the next Parliament which ensued in 39 *Reginæ Anno Dom. 1597*, although none of the said imminent Dangers, which had been feared in the above-mentioned thirtyfifth-Year of her Majesty's Reign, had to that Time come into any real Execution, the House of Commons was, notwithstanding, again drawn to yield unto the same Proportion of three Subsidies and six Fifteenths and Tenths, to be paid also unto her Majesty within a shorter Time: And now, lastly, in this present Parliament in *An. 43 & 44 Regin. ejusdem, Anno Dom. 1601.* the said House was drawn, in respect chiefly of the Troubles of *Ireland*, where the *Spaniards* had set Footing, to present unto her Highness the

Sir S. Dewes's
Observations on
the great In-
crease of Sub-
sidies.

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extraordinary and great Gift of *four Subsidies and eight Fifteenths and Tenths.*

Debate on a Bill
against profane
Curfing and
Swearing.

A Bill against usual and profane Curfing and Swearing, having been twice read in this House, and ordered to be engrossed, Mr. *Glascock* stood up and said, ‘ Man is made of two Parts, a Soul and
‘ a Body ; and there are two Governments, the
‘ one Imperial, the other Sacerdotal ; the first be-
‘ longing to the Common-Wealth, the second to
‘ the Church. Swearing is a Thing moral, and
‘ toucheth the Soul, and therefore fitter to be spoken
‘ of in a Pulpit than in Parliament. If the God
‘ of *Abraham*, the God of *Isaac*, and the God of
‘ *Jacob* hath sworn, his Plague shall not depart
‘ from the House of the Swearers, why should we
‘ not seek to repress this Vice, which brings a
‘ Plague, which breeds Mortality, that breeds
‘ Destruction, Desolation, and the utter Ruin of
‘ the Common-Wealth ? If he forbids us to swear,
‘ and we fear not his Commandments, think you
‘ a Pain of ten Shillings, as here set down, will
‘ make us refrain this Iniquity ? It is as hard for
‘ this Penalty to restrain this Sin, as for Religion to
‘ spring out of the Common Law and to take
‘ Effect. *Moses*, when he saw God, could but see
‘ his Back-Parts only, and no Man ever saw more.
‘ Why, these Swearers swear by all his Parts, so
‘ perfectly, as though they had seen him all over.
‘ *Philip*, King of *France*, made a Law that the
‘ Swearer should be drowned ; another Law was
‘ made, that a certain Sum should be presently paid
‘ as soon as he had sworn, or else the Swearer to
‘ lose his Head. We use so much Lenity in our
‘ Law, that we had as good make no Law, for we
‘ give a Penalty, and to be taken upon Conviction
‘ before a Justice of Peace ; here is wise Stuff.
‘ First mark what a Justice of Peace is, and we
‘ shall easily find a Gap in our Law. A Justice
‘ of Peace is a living Creature, that for half a
‘ Dozen of Chickens, will dispense with a whole
‘ Dozen of penal Statutes. We search and ingross ;
‘ they

‘ they retail. These be the Basket-Justices, of Queen Elizabeth, 1601.
 ‘ whom the Tale may be verified of a Justice,
 ‘ that I know, to whom one of his poor Neigh-
 ‘ bours coming, said, Sir, I am very highly rated The Character of a Justice of Peace.
 ‘ in the Subsidy-Book, I beseech you to help me.
 ‘ To whom he answered, I know thee not.
 ‘ Not me Sir, quoth the Country-Man? Why
 ‘ your Worship had my Teem, and my Oxen such
 ‘ a Day, and I have ever been at your Worship’s
 ‘ Service; have you so, Sir, quoth the Justice,
 ‘ I never remember’d I had any such Matter, no
 ‘ not a Sheep’s-Tail. So unless you offer Sacrifice
 ‘ to the Idol-Justices, of Sheep and Oxen, they
 ‘ know you not. If a Warrant come from the
 ‘ Lords of the Council to levy a hundred Men,
 ‘ he will levy two hundred; and what with chop-
 ‘ ping in and crossing out, he’ll gain a hundred
 ‘ Pounds by the Bargain. Nay, if he be to send
 ‘ out a Warrant, upon a Man’s Request, to have any
 ‘ fetch’d in upon Suspicion of Felony, or the like;
 ‘ he will write the Warrant himself, and you must
 ‘ put two Shillings in his Pocket as his Clerk’s Fee,
 ‘ (when God knows he keeps but two or three
 ‘ Hindes) for his better Maintenance. Why we
 ‘ have had here five Bills; of Swearing, going to
 ‘ Church, Good-Ale, Drunkenness and
 ‘ this is as good to them as if you had given them
 ‘ a Subsidy and two Fifteenths. Only in that
 ‘ Point I mislike the Bill, for the rest I could wish
 ‘ it good Passage.’

Sir *Francis Hastings* said, ‘ That such Justices
 ‘ were well worthy to be lock’d up in an Ambery.
 ‘ But he wish’d that All might not be censured for
 ‘ One evil, who though he neglected both the Care
 ‘ of Conscience and Country which he should
 ‘ love, yet, doubtless, many did not so; as being
 ‘ touched in Conscience to remember that our
 ‘ long Peace should make us careful to please him
 ‘ in doing of Justice, that had preserved us, and
 ‘ was the Author of our Peace, God himself.’
 And thereupon the Bill was ingrossed.

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1601.

Debate on a Bill
for resorting to
Church.

Another Bill, for the more diligent Resort to Church upon Sundays, was read a second Time, when Mr. *Roger Owen* spoke to this Effect:

‘ That he misliked the Bill for two Respects; the
‘ one for the Penalty, the other in respect of the
‘ Party punishing, that is, the Justice. For the
‘ first, the Penalty is twelve Pence. It is well
‘ known that the poorest Recusant in *England*
‘ ought, as well as the Rich, to pay his twenty
‘ Pound, and for Want of Lands and Goods, his
‘ Body is liable; and therefore we shall doubly
‘ punish him, which is against Law. For the
‘ other, touching the Justice, I think it too great
‘ a Trouble, and they are ever loaden with a
‘ Number of penal Statutes, yea, a whole Alpha-
‘ bet, as appears by *Hussey* in the Time of *Henry*
‘ *VII.* And this is a Matter so obvious, that a
‘ Justice of Peace’s House will be like a Quarter-
‘ Sessions, with the Multitude of these Com-
‘ plaints. I think also it is an Infringement of
‘ *Magna Charta*, for that gives Trial *per Pares*,
‘ but this by two Witnesses before a Justice of the
‘ Peace. And by this Statute, if a Justice of the
‘ Peace come into the Quarter-Sessions, and say it
‘ is a good Oath, this is as good as an Indictment:
‘ Therefore for my Part, Away with the Bill.’

Sir *Francis Hastings*. ‘ I never, in my Life,
‘ heard Justices of the Peace taxed before in this
‘ Sort: For ought I know, Justices of Peace be
‘ Men of Quality, Honesty, Experience and Justice.
‘ I would ask the Gentleman that last spake, but
‘ two Questions; the first, If he would have any
‘ Penalty at all inflicted? The second, If in the first
‘ Statute, or in this, an easier Way for the levying
‘ of this twelve Pence can be? If he deny the first,
‘ I know his Scope; if the second, no Man but
‘ himself will deny it. And to speak so in both,
‘ is neither gravely, religiously nor rightly spoken.
‘ And therefore for God, the Queen, and our
‘ Country’s Sake, I beseech a Commitment.’

Sir *Carew Reynolds*. ‘ The Sabbath is ordained
‘ for four Causes; first, To meditate on the Om-
‘ nipo-

‘nipotency of God; secondly, To assemble us together to give Thanks; thirdly, That we might be the better enabled to follow our own Affairs; fourthly, That we might hallow that Day and sanctify the same. King *James IV.* of Scotland, in the Year 1512, and King *James VI.* in the Year 1579, did erect and ratify a Law, that whosoever kept either Fair or Market upon the Sabbath, his Moveables should presently be given to the Poor. Men gathering of Sticks were stoned to Death, because that was thought to be a Kind of Prophanation of the Sabbath. I doubt not but great Reformation will come if this Bill pass: To the better effecting whereof, I humbly pray, that if there be Imperfections in it, it may be committed.

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1601.

Sir *George Moore.* ‘For the Gentleman that last spake, and so much inveighed against Justices, it may be it proceeds out of the Corruption of his Heart; howsoever, I mean not to search it, or answer him; only I turn him to *Solomon*, and mean to answer him with Silence. Without going to Church, and doing Christian Duties, we cannot be religious, and by Religion we learn both our Duty to God and to the Queen. In doing our Duty to God, we shall be better enabled to do our Duty to our Prince. And the Word biddeth us, that we should give to God that which is due to God, *et Casari quæ sunt Casaris.* Amongst many Laws which we have, we have none for Constraint of God’s Service: I say, None, though one was made *in primo* of this Queen, because that Law is no Law which takes no Force; for *Executio Legis Vita Legis.* Then let us not give such Cause of Comfort to our Adversaries, that having drawn a Bill in Question for the Service of our God, we should stand so much in questioning the same. Once a Month coming to Church excuseth us from Danger of the Law, but not from the Commandment of God, who saith, *Thou shalt sanctify the Sabbath - Day*, that is, every Sabbath.

‘ This

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1601.

' This Bill ties the Subject to so much and no more, which being agreeable with the Law of God, and the Rule of Policy, I see no Reason why we should stand so strictly in giving it a Commitment.'

Mr. Bond. ' I wish the Sabbath sanctified according to the precise Rules of God's Commandment, but I wish that St. *Augustin's* Rule may be observed in the Manner, *non Jubendo, sed Docendo, magis Monendo quam Minando*. I like not that Power should be given to the Justices of Peace; for who almost are not grieved at the luxuriant Authority of Justices of Peace? By the Statute of *Edward III.* they must be good Men, and lawful, no Maintainers of Evil, but moderate in Execution of Laws; for Magistrates be Men, and Men have always attending on them two Ministers *Libidia & Iracundia*; Men of this Nature do subjugate the free-born Subject. Clerks can do much, Children more, and Wives most. It is dangerous therefore to give Authority in so dangerous a Thing as this is, which I hold worth your second Thoughts, *quæ solent esse prudentiores*. Her Majesty, during all the Time of her Reign, hath been clement, gracious, meek and merciful, yea chusing rather *delinquere*, I know not how to term it, in Lenity and not in Cruelty. But, by this Statute, there is a Constraint to come to Divine Service, and for Neglect all must pay. *Plectentur Achiwi*: The poor Commonalty, whose Strength and Quietness is the Strength and Quietness of us all, he only shall be punished, he vexed. For will any think that a Justice of Peace will contest with as good a Man as himself? No, this Age is too wise. I leave it to this House, whether it stand with Policy, when four Subsidies and eight Fifteenths be now granted, to bring the poorer Sort into greater Fear by these and such like Laws, *Malus Custos Diuturnitatis Metus*. And in the gracious Speech, which her Majesty lately delivered unto us, she used this, that she desired to be beloved of her Subjects. It was a
' wise

‘ wife Speech of a wise Prince, for an Historian
 ‘ faith, *Timor excitat in Vindictam*. Therefore,
 ‘ Mr. Speaker, I mislike the Bill in that Point
 ‘ touching Justices, and also touching Taxation.
 ‘ I will only say thus much with *Panutius* in the
 ‘ *Nicene Council*, *Abfit quod tam grave Jugum*
 ‘ *Fratribus nostris imponamus*. Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

‘ I am sorry, said Mr. Comptroller, after forty-
 ‘ three Years under her Majesty’s happy Govern-
 ‘ ment, that we shall now dispute to commit
 ‘ a Bill of this Nature. And I would that any
 ‘ Voice durst be so bold or desperate as to cry, *Away*
 ‘ *with this Bill*. The old Statute gives the Penal-
 ‘ ty; this new, only speedier Means to levy it.
 ‘ I much marvel that Men will, or dare, accuse
 ‘ Justices of Peace, Ministers to her Majesty, with-
 ‘ out whom the Common-Wealth cannot be. If
 ‘ this Boldness go on, they will accuse Judges, and
 ‘ lastly, the Seat of Justice itself. That all Justi-
 ‘ ces should be thus generally accused, this is meer
 ‘ Barbarism indeed. When her Majesty shall have
 ‘ Understanding hereof, it will be no Content un-
 ‘ to her, and a Scandal unto us all.’

Mr. *Glascock*. ‘ In that I am taxed to tax
 ‘ Justices of Peace, I am to pray the House to
 ‘ give me Leave to make an Apology for myself.
 ‘ Mr. Speaker, I will not deny that I spake, and
 ‘ protest it in my Conscience, I spake only of the
 ‘ inferior Sort of Justices, commonly called Bas-
 ‘ ket-Justices; against these I will not speak what I
 ‘ spake last, but other Matter in other Terms.
 ‘ They be like the Wise Men of *Chaldee*, that could
 ‘ never give Judgment ’till they saw the Entrails
 ‘ of Beasts. Our Statutes penal, be like the Beast
 ‘ born in the Morning, at his full Growth at Noon,
 ‘ and dead at Night: So these Statutes quick in
 ‘ Execution, are like a Wonder for nine Days; so
 ‘ long after, they be at Height; but by the End
 ‘ of the Year, they are carried dead in a Basket to
 ‘ the Justice’s House.’

Mr.

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

Mr. Speaker. *Mr. Glascock, you speak from the Matter and Purpose, and this that you have spoken you must justify.*

Mr. Martin. 'I am rather willing to speak, in that I would willingly have an End of this Matter. I think we all agree upon the Substance, that it is fit the Sabbath should be sanctified. The other Matter, which is the Impediment, I know it is a Grief, but I leave it as Matter more fit to be decided at a Committee than here. And therefore, for the Honour of the Queen and of her Government, I wish it may be committed without further Argument.'

Sir Robert Wroth. 'I think the Office of Justice of Peace is too good a Calling for him that exclaims against it, and I think he'll ne'er have the Honour to have it. It were good they were named, and that he told who they were; otherwise honest Men will be loth to serve the Queen, when they shall be slandered without Proof. Therefore I would he might answer it at the Bar.'

Mr. Johnson. 'This Bill is an excellent Bill; and I have observed that all the Speeches yet spoken, have been interlarded with other Matter. The Gentleman now protesteth he spake of Basket-Justices; I appeal to the whole House, whether his Definition were not general, viz. A Justice of Peace is a Kind of living Creature, that for half a Dozen of Chickens will dispense with a Dozen of penal Statutes. I think it is well known that the Honourable that sit about the Chair, and all the rest of her Majesty's Privy Council, have and do hold the same Place, and this toucheth them as much as inferior Justices. And therefore I humbly pray he may answer it at the Bar, and that it may not be pass'd over with Silence.'—But all said, *No, No.*

Mr. H de. 'Every Man agrees this Bill hath good Matter, and we all agree and consent to the Substance, though dissent to the Form; some have more Wit, and some have more Under-
' standing

‘ standing than others. If they of meaner Capacity and Judgment spake impertinently, let us not in a Spleen straight cry, *Away with the Bill*; but let us give it the same Favour we give to Bills of far inferior Nature, that is a Commitment.’

Queen Elizabeth,
1601.

On the 3d of *December*, after reading some Bills of no great Moment, Mr. *Dannot*, Member for *Yarmouth*, got up and made a Motion of too important a Nature in itself and Consequences to be omitted.

‘ May it please you, Mr. Speaker, the Duty I owe to my Sovereign and Country makes me bold to crave your Patience to hear me. The Matter that I speak of is twofold, the first concerneth the Honour of the Queen; the second the Safety of our Country; two very high Points for me to handle, and require a more eloquent Discourse than I am able to make. I will use no Circumstance, or with superfluous Matter abuse the Time which is very precious, but to the Matter. I have been of the Parliament five or six Times, and I have always observed by this House (and I would willingly be resolved by the Honourable about the Chair) that all the Wars of her Majesty are Wars offensive, and I do not hear the contrary: How then comes it that such a Number of her Majesty’s Subjects be spoiled, robbed, beaten, wounded, themselves taken, used with such extreme Torture, rack’d, carried away, imprisoned, ransomed, fined, and some executed; and all this Time no Wars? But, give me Leave, for these ten Years, I am sure, the Subjects of this Land, on the Sea-Coast, have undergone these Tyrannies, and by whom? Even by two base Towns, *Dunkirk* and *Newport*. *Dunkirk* began with two Ships, and are now encreased to almost twenty. They are at Home at Supper, and the next Day here with us. I must needs confess the great Charge that I know the Lord-Admiral is at continually
‘ by

Complaint against Pyrates from Dunkirk, &c.

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

‘ by lying ready to take these Pyrates. Send to
 ‘ take them, they straight flie Home: If our
 ‘ Ships return they are straight here again. I dare
 ‘ boldly say it, they have done *England* more Hurt
 ‘ since they began, than all *France*, either in the
 ‘ Time of *Henry VIII.* *Edward VI.* or Queen
 ‘ *Mary.* If it be so that these two base Towns
 ‘ shall so affront the Power of this Land; I see
 ‘ no Reason why they should be suffered: For it
 ‘ is a great Dishonour both unto the Queen and
 ‘ unto the Kingdom. I have heard many say,
 ‘ that the Navies are the Walls of the Kingdom;
 ‘ but we suffer our Ships still to be destroyed, to be
 ‘ burnt, and to be sunk before our Faces. We may
 ‘ compare our Seamen to Sheep feeding upon a
 ‘ fair Mountain, in the Midst whereof stands a
 ‘ little Grove full of Wolves: Why, Mr. Speaker,
 ‘ we are so plagued with them, that they be so
 ‘ bold, as now and then to take our Harvest-men
 ‘ tardy, by Ambuscadoes. I speak with Grief,
 ‘ and it was reported unto me by a *Scottish-Man*,
 ‘ that Duke *Albert* and the *Infanta* should plainly
 ‘ publish, that they would pull down so many of
 ‘ the Walls of *England*, that they would easily
 ‘ make an Entry. And it had been better for
 ‘ Sea-Coast-Men to have given the Queen an
 ‘ hundred Subsidies, that they had been long since
 ‘ suppress’d. My humble Motion is, that it would
 ‘ please the House to enter into Consideration of
 ‘ these Things, for the Honour, Good and Safety
 ‘ both of the Queen and of the Kingdom.’

Mr. Peake. ‘ I must needs shew unto this
 ‘ House (upon so good an Occasion offered) how
 ‘ grievously the Town of *Sandwich*, for which I
 ‘ serve, is vexed and almost undone; insomuch,
 ‘ as in that Town there is neither Owner, Master
 ‘ or Mariner that hath not felt it. Her Majesty
 ‘ is continually at Charge, but what ensueth or
 ‘ cometh of it, I never yet knew. If in the
 ‘ County of *Kent* at *Shooter’s-Hill*, *Gadd’s-Hill*,
 ‘ *Barham-Down*, &c. there should many and often
 ‘ Robberies be committed, and the Justices look
 ‘ not

‘ not to it, this were but an ill Part. Every Day
 ‘ Men come Home, their Goods and all they have
 ‘ taken away, yea their very Apparel; and if the
 ‘ Ships might also be carried away, they would do
 ‘ it. This should be amended and looked into.
 ‘ We had need to cherish this Subject; I think
 ‘ him to be the best and most necessary Member of
 ‘ the Common-Wealth, I mean the Navigator.

Queen Elizabeth,
 1601.

Mr. Secretary *Cecil*. ‘ My Speech shall only
 ‘ tend to advance the Motion of the Gentleman
 ‘ that spake first in this Point. If we would have
 ‘ Remedy, we are to consider two Things; first,
 ‘ That it will be a Matter of Charge; and se-
 ‘ condly, That there must be a Distribution thereof.
 ‘ For the first, I leave it to you; for the second,
 ‘ it is out of my Element. Withal I must excuse
 ‘ them that have Authority to remedy this; for
 ‘ unless you would have a continual Charge unto
 ‘ her Majesty by having Ships lying betwixt us and
 ‘ *Dunkirk*, it is impossible but that at some Times
 ‘ these Robberies will be committed. I could very
 ‘ well agree to bring this Motion to some Head,
 ‘ being a Matter, in mine Opinion, very conside-
 ‘ rable in a Committee; and all said, *Ay, Ay, Ay*.

Mr. *Dannet*. ‘ I would only move the House
 ‘ that some Masters of Ships and Seamen might be
 ‘ sent for to attend at the Committee. Where-
 upon it was ordered to be considered of and re-
 ferr’d to Committees, viz. all the Privy Council
 being Members of this House, the Queen’s
 Learned Council being of this House, Sir *Walter*
Raleigh, the Burgeffes for Ports and Sea-faring
 Towns, and others.

December 12th, The Bill for coming to Church
 on *Sundays* was read a third Time; and another
 Debate arose upon it.

Further Debate
 on the Bill for
 resorting to
 Church.

Mr. *Bond*. ‘ This Bill as it is now ingrossed,
 ‘ much differeth from the First which was here
 ‘ presented, which I the better like of. Notwith-
 ‘ standing, in my Opinion, the Bill is altogether
 ‘ needless, and divers Reasons move me to think it
 ‘ both

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both inconvenient and unnecessary. Every Evil in a State is not to be met with in a Law ; and as it is in natural, so it is in politick Bodies, that sometimes the Remedy is worse than the Disease. And therefore particular Laws against particular Offences induce Novelty, and in Novelty Contempt. If this Bill passeth, there will be two Imputations happen to the State, which Wisdom wills us both to foresee and shun : The first an Infamy to our Ministers, that our Adversaries may say, This is the Fruit of your Labour to have preached away your Audience out of the Church : The second no less, but rather a greater Imputation upon our Archbishops and other Ecclesiastical Governors, that they be either remiss in their Authority, or else that their Prerogative hath not so much Power as a Twelve-penny Fine. And, doubtless, these Imputations cannot be avoided, if we give the *Jesuits* such Head, Scope and Comfort, as they, in their Writings, greedily apprehend. I do, Mr Speaker, conceive great Difference betwixt *primo Eliz.* when Time was, and this Law of 44. *Eliz.* as now it is. Then the People were newly taken from Massing and Superstition : Now they are planted in Truth, and rooted in Religion. The Light did then scarce appear unto them, which now shineth with glorious Beams upon our Teachers and Ecclesiastical Judges. Suppose that a Neglector of Church-Service comes to the Sessions there to be examined, alledging an Excuse ; many Businesses so concern the Doer not to be known, that to speak Truth would be a Wound unto his Conscience ; and to say his Business, was a meer Mockery ; and to say an Untruth, an apparent Danger. If this Law may stand for a Law, methinks I foresee what Breach of Charity will happen. Say there be Forty in a Town absent, the Church-Warden presents some and not others : It will be objected unto him, Wherefore should I be presented and not he ? Why, my Wife, my Son, my Ser-

‘ Servant, my Friend, not his? &c. Will not this
 ‘ be a great Breach to Unity and Peace? Just
 ‘ Prosecution will be infinitely cumbersome, and
 ‘ partial Connivance subject to Quarrel. Not-
 ‘ withstanding this Statute, we leave Power to the
 ‘ Ecclesiastical Judge, whose Course is to proceed
 ‘ to Excommunication, and so an *Excommunicato*
 ‘ *capiendo* must be had. This is as great a Charge
 ‘ as the Indictment in the Statute of *Primo*. In
 ‘ this Statute a Witness or Two must be brought
 ‘ to the Sessions, he must be presented to the Grand-
 ‘ Jury, and so indicted; this will cost five Shillings,
 ‘ a Noble or ten Shillings, which is as much as the
 ‘ Charge in the first Statute. So because this Bill
 ‘ is scandalous to the Clergy, scandalous to the State,
 ‘ repugnant to Charity and *Crambe recocta*; I
 ‘ humbly pray it may be rejected.’

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Sir *Francis Hastings*. ‘ I shall speak upon
 ‘ great Disadvantage; I perceive this Member of
 ‘ our House hath taken studied Pains to disturb the
 ‘ Passage of this Bill. To which I shall not so
 ‘ well answer, because I cannot so well carry a-
 ‘ way the Particulars of this politick, but not re-
 ‘ ligious Discourse. If it be Religion to be obedi-
 ‘ ent at Pleasure; if I could be zealous To-day,
 ‘ and cold To-morrow, I could subscribe to all
 ‘ that he hath said. We cannot do a more ac-
 ‘ ceptable Thing to God, or a more dutiful Ser-
 ‘ vice to the State, than bring Men to fear God.
 ‘ Religion and Policy may well stand together:
 ‘ But as that Policy is most detestable which hath
 ‘ not Religion to warrant it, so is that Religion
 ‘ most happy which hath Policy to back and main-
 ‘ tain it. I know the *Jesuits* and Priests be out
 ‘ of Square, and be at a Jarr amongst themselves:
 ‘ I pray God it be not to make a Breach among
 ‘ us, who be yet in Unity. Wit well applied is
 ‘ a profitable Thing; but ill applied, dangerous,
 ‘ in whomsoever doth abuse it.

‘ There is no Man of Sense and Religion, but
 ‘ thinketh that he is far from Religion [pointing
 ‘ at Mr. Bond] that spoke last. First, he said, it
 ‘ would

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‘ would be an Imputation to our Ministers. That
 ‘ Speech was both absurd in Judgment, and slan-
 ‘ derous in Uttering; as though by the Ministers
 ‘ of the Word we were loth to hear of our Sins,
 ‘ or reconcile ourselves to God. The Second,
 ‘ That it was an Imputation on Archbishops, Bi-
 ‘ shops, &c. I am so far from blaming their Go-
 ‘ vernment, that I renounce that Position. I am
 ‘ very sorry that the Strength of their Authority
 ‘ stretcheth not so far as I could wish it in this
 ‘ Point. But methinks this Law should rather be
 ‘ a Credit to the Ministry, that now we having
 ‘ gone to Church these forty-three Years ourselves,
 ‘ are so fervent in Religion, that we desire also
 ‘ that others may do the like. I beseech you,
 ‘ give me Leave to wipe off a Grievance, which,
 ‘ it seems, the Gentleman that last spake imputeth
 ‘ unto me. He hath made a Protestation that he
 ‘ is no Papist: I appeal to you all if I said he was.
 ‘ And I say he is no Puritan, if he be not a Papist;
 ‘ for if ever there be a Puritan in *England*, it is a
 ‘ Papist. I learned of Dr. *Humsfrey*, who was
 ‘ sometimes my Tutor, a Division of four Sorts
 ‘ of Puritans; 1st, The Catholick, which holds,
 ‘ that a Man cannot sin after Baptism; 2dly, The
 ‘ Papist, which is such a Merit-monger, that he
 ‘ would not only save himself by his own Merits,
 ‘ but by the Merits of others also; a 3d Sort are
 ‘ the Brownists or Family of Love, a Sect too
 ‘ well known in *England*, I would they had never
 ‘ so been; the 4th and last Sort, are your Evan-
 ‘ gelical Puritans, which insist wholly upon Scrip-
 ‘ tures as upon a sure Ground; and of these I
 ‘ would we had many more than we now have.’

Dr. *Bennet* shewed, ‘ That there were 1100,
 ‘ nay 1500 Recusants in *Yorkshire*, which he vouch-
 ‘ ed, upon his Credit, were presented both in the
 ‘ Ecclesiastical Court, and before the Council at
 ‘ *York*.’

Sir *Robert Wroth* shewed, ‘ That he had a Pro-
 ‘ viso ready ingrossed, the Substance whereof was,
 ‘ That if any Man came eight Times a Year to
 ‘ the

‘ the Church, and said the usual Divine Service Queen Elizabeth, 1601.
 ‘ twice every *Sunday* and Holyday in his House,
 ‘ with his whole Family, that should be a suffici-
 ‘ ent Dispensation.’ This was utterly disliked :
 Yet divers, which were desirous to overthrow the
 Bill, went forth with the Proviso, because they
 would have it joined with the Bill to overthrow it.
 Whereupon the House was divided, and upon Di-
 vision it appeared thus; *Ayes* 126, *Noes* 85. So
 the Proviso pass’d. Then it was put to the Que-
 stion for the Bill, but then divers Reasons were
 shewed, Mr. *Bond*’s two Reasons of Prejudice to
 Ministers and the Clergy, and the Danger by
 Breach of Charity; that the Information was a
 Thing contrary to *Magna Charta*; that there might
 be a Conviction without Inquiry.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* shewed, ‘ That all the Church-
 ‘ Wardens of every Shire must come to the Assizes
 ‘ to give Information to the Grand-Jury; say then
 ‘ there be 120 Parishes in a Shire, there must now
 ‘ come extraordinary 240 Church-Wardens: And
 ‘ say that but two in a Parish offend in a Quarter
 ‘ of a Year, that makes 480 Persons with the
 ‘ Offenders to appear; what great Multitudes this
 ‘ will bring together, what Quarrelling and Dan-
 ‘ ger may happen, besides giving Authority to a
 ‘ mean Church-Warden, how prejudicial this may
 ‘ be, &c. with divers other Reasons against it.
 ‘ As also some Ambiguities and Equivocations
 ‘ therein; the Proviso newly added being a plain
 ‘ Toleration from coming to Church; and that
 ‘ the Parson could not present or constrain any if
 ‘ they said Service at Home.’

So it was put to the Question, the *Ayes* went
 forth and were 105, and the *Noes* within 106;
 but then the *Ayes* said they had Mr. Speaker’s,
 which would make it even. And then it grew to
 a Question, whether he had a Voice. Sir *Edward*
Hobbie, who was of the *Aye* Side, said, ‘ That
 ‘ when her Majesty had given us Leave to chuse
 ‘ our Speaker, she gave us Leave to chuse one
 ‘ out of our own Number, and not a Stranger, a
 VOL. IV. I i ‘ Citizen

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‘ Citizen of *London* and a Member ; and therefore
‘ he hath a Voice.’ To which it was answered
by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and confirmed by the Speaker
himself, ‘ That he was foreclosed of his Voice by
‘ taking that Place, which it had pleased them to
‘ impose upon him ; and that he was to be indiffe-
‘ rent for both Parties : And withal shewed, that,
‘ by Order of the House, the Bill was lost.’

Mr. *Bowyer* said, ‘ I think it not lost, for there
‘ hath been foul and great Abuse offered in this
‘ Matter. A Gentleman that would willingly go
‘ forth according to his Conscience, was pulled
‘ back : Though I much reverence my Masters of
‘ the *Temple*, and am bound to our Benchers of
‘ the *Middle-Temple*, yet if it will please the House,
‘ and you, Mr. Speaker, to command me to name
‘ him, I will.’ The greater Voice said No ; yet
Mr. Secretary *Cecil* willed him to name him, and
he said, ‘ It was Mr. *Dale* of the *Middle-Temple*.’

Sir *Walter Raleigh*. ‘ Why, if it please you,
‘ it is a small Matter to pull one by the Sleeve, for
‘ so I have done myself oftentimes.’ (And great
loud Speech and Stir there was in the House.)

Mr. Comptroller (after Silence) said, ‘ It is a
‘ most intolerable Disorder. I think the Offence
‘ is a heinous Offence, both against God and this
‘ Assembly. For the first, in that every Man is
‘ to go according to his Conscience, and not by
‘ Compulsion ; and for the other Gentleman, Sir
‘ *Walter Raleigh*, that said he had often done the
‘ like, I think he may be ashamed of it ; for large
‘ is his Conscience, if in a Matter of so great Con-
‘ sequence he will be drawn either forwards or
‘ backwards by the Sleeve ; and I think it so hein-
‘ ous, that he deserves to answer it at the Bar
‘ (meaning Mr. *Dale*, but because Sir *Walter Ra-*
‘ *leigh* was last named, it was taken to be meant
‘ of him.)

Mr. Secretary *Cecil*. ‘ I am sorry to see this
‘ Disorder, and little do you know how for Dis-
‘ order this Parliament is taxed, I am sorry I can-
‘ not say slandered. I had hoped as this Parlia-
‘ ment

‘ment began gravely and with Judgment, so we
 ‘should have ended modestly, and, at least, with
 ‘Discretion. I protest I have a Libel in my Pocket
 ‘against the Proceedings of this Parliament. The
 ‘Offence which the Gentleman that last spake,
 ‘spoke of, I confess is great and punishable; and
 ‘this I wish may be inflicted on him, that he,
 ‘whose Voice may be drawn either forwards or
 ‘backwards by the Sleeve, like a Dog in a String,
 ‘may be no more of this House; and I wish for
 ‘his Credit’s Sake he would not. But that it
 ‘should be so great to be called to the Bar, I see
 ‘no Reason; neither do I know why any in this
 ‘House should speak so imperiously, as to have a
 ‘Gentleman of his Place and Quality (pointing to
 ‘Sir *Walter Raleigh*) called to the Bar, I see no
 ‘Reason for it: For the Matter itself, the *Noes*
 ‘were 106, and the *Ayes* 105, the Speaker hath
 ‘no Voice; and though I am sorry to say it, yet
 ‘I must needs confess, lost it is, and farewell it.’
 And so the House rose confusedly.

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

Which is thrown
out.

December 16. A Bill concerning Captains, Soldiers, and Mariners, was read the second Time; and, by reason of the Generality of the Bill, it was much excepted against by Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and others.

Mr. *Glascock* said, Mr. Speaker, ‘I have something touching this Bill to deliver to the House, in Discharge of my Conscience. And I do humbly and heartily pray you all, to hear me patiently and quietly, without Interruption.

Debate on a Bill
relating to Soldiers, &c.

‘I have been observed, Mr. Speaker, to be an Enemy to Justices of the Peace, and to have spoken irreverently, and much against them: For my own Part, I mind now to make my last Speech for this Parliament, and this Protestation withal: That I never used any irreverent Language towards those, whose Honesty joined with their Authority, and make themselves famous, under the Title of upright Justices. My Speech, was never uttered against them, but against two

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

‘ Sorts of Justices, that have Authority at the
‘ Commission of Musters; (for all within the
‘ County, are authorized generally by the Word
‘ Justices) by whom I would be loath to be yoak-
‘ ed, or commanded. The first is, the Uncir-
‘ cumcised Justice of Peace; the other, the Adul-
‘ terating Justice of Peace.

‘ The Uncircumcised Justice is he, who from
‘ base Stock and Lineage, by his Wealth, is gotten
‘ to be within the Commission. And I call him
‘ Uncircumcised, because he hath not cut off the
‘ Foreskin of his Offences; and so by his Virtue,
‘ wiped away the Blot or Stain of Baseness in his
‘ Birth and Lineage.

‘ The Adulterating Justice is he, that is a Gen-
‘ tleman-born, virtuous, discreet, and wise; yet
‘ poor and needy. And so only for his Virtues
‘ and Qualities, put into the Commission. This
‘ Man, I hold unfit to be a Justice, though I think
‘ him to be a good Member in the Common-
‘ Wealth. Because, I hold this for a Ground in-
‘ fallible, That no poor Man ought to be in Au-
‘ thority; my Reason is this, he will so bribe you,
‘ and extort you, that the sweet Scent of Riches
‘ and Gain, takes away and confoundeth the true
‘ Taste of Justice and Equity. For the Scripture
‘ saith, *Munera excecant Oculos Justorum*; and
‘ Justice is never imprisoned and suppressed, but
‘ by Bribery. And such kind of Ministers I speak
‘ of. And I call him an Adulterating Justice;
‘ because, look how many Bribes he taketh, so
‘ many Bastards he begets to the Common-Wealth.

‘ Then let us see, whence these Justices do
‘ come, and how they be made. It cannot be
‘ denied, but all Justices are made by the Lord-
‘ Keeper; then he is in Fault, and none else. For
‘ my own Opinion, I have ever held him to be a
‘ Man both honourable, grave, and wise; so just,
‘ that never was the meanest Subject so wronged
‘ that he ever complained.

‘ Therefore, his Justice cannot be taxed. *Aye,*
‘ but his Care may, for he only maketh them.

‘ *No,*

‘ No, I may more easily excuse him, than our-
 ‘ selves; for he maketh none, but such as have
 ‘ Certificates commendatory from the Justices of
 ‘ Assize. Why then, they be in Fault; for im-
 ‘ possible it is, my Lord-Keeper should know the
 ‘ Quality and Sufficiency of them himself, but
 ‘ only *per Alium*, in Trust, as by the Justices of
 ‘ Assize. No, the Gall lies not there; for they
 ‘ neither (by reason they are not always riding one
 ‘ *Circuit*) are well acquainted with the Natures of
 ‘ those Justices; but when any desireth to be a
 ‘ Justice, he getteth a Certificate from divers Ju-
 ‘ stices of the Peace in the Country, to the Justi-
 ‘ ces of Assize, certifying them of their Sufficien-
 ‘ cy and Ability. And they again make their Cer-
 ‘ tificate (believing the former) to the Lord-Keep-
 ‘ er, who at the next Assizes, puts them into
 ‘ Commission. And thus is the Lord-Keeper abu-
 ‘ sed, and the Justices of Assize abused, and the
 ‘ Country troubled with a corrupt Justice, put in
 ‘ Authority.

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

‘ The Cause comes only from the Justices them-
 ‘ selves. And who be they? Even all of you here
 ‘ present, or most of us. My Suit, therefore is,
 ‘ That you will abstain from such Commendations,
 ‘ and hold your Hands from writing Iniquity, and
 ‘ doing so sinful a Deed, as to commend an un-
 ‘ worthy Person, and not to commend a worthy
 ‘ and deserving Subject. And I think this a Posi-
 ‘ tion both true and public, that it is as great a Sin
 ‘ to add to the unworthy, as to detract from the
 ‘ worthy. And, Mr. Speaker, if these Men may
 ‘ be excepted out of the Bill, I will not only be
 ‘ ready to go, but to run forth to have so good a
 ‘ Law established.’

Then Mr. *Townshend* (g) shewed, ‘ That in
 ‘ too much Generality, there never wanted Er-
 ‘ ror. And so in this Bill, being too general,
 ‘ namely, all from the Age of Eighteen to Sixty,
 ‘ must appear at Musters, and may be prest; no
 ‘ Ex-

(g) Author of the Collections.

Queen Elizabeth. ' Exception of any, and therefore no Profession
1601. ' exempted.

' It is not unknown unto you, that by Professi-
' on, I am a Lawyer, and therefore, unfit to be a
' Professor of the Art of War. Therefore, I
' pray, that it would please the House, if they
' would commit the Bill, to commit it to be re-
' turned on the last Day of the next Parliament;
' or else, that, as a worthy Gentleman (*Serjeant*
' *Heale*) the last Parliament, in a Bill of this Na-
' ture moved, to have an Exception or Proviso for
' all Serjeants; it would please you to admit of a
' Proviso for all Lawyers.' At which the House
laughed heartily; and the Bill was drop'd.

Sir Francis Hastings's Speech for
reforming Abuses.
The next Day the Speaker having taken Notice,
That the Parliament was likely to end next *Satur-*
day, Sir *Francis Hastings* stood up and said, Mr.
Speaker, ' Because I see the House at so good Lei-

' sure, I will be bold to remember some Matters
' passed this Parliament, and deliver my Opinion,
' with Desire of Reformation: I mean not to tax
' any Man.

' Divers Speeches have been used concerning Ju-
' stices of the Peace, so slanderous and defamatory;
' with so unwonted Epithets, with such slander-
' ous Definitions; a Testimony of Levity for the
' one, and scant sound Judgment for the other.

' And therefore, I do humbly pray the Honour-
' able here present, that those Justices which serve
' religiously, dutifully, and carefully, may be
' countenanced.

' The Church and Common-Wealth are two
' Twins, which laugh and live together. Long
' have we joyed in her Majesty's happy Govern-
' ment, and long may we.

' We have two strong Enemies, *Rome* and
' *Spain*; from thence all our Rebellions have pro-
' ceeded, and, by Treasons hatched there, the sa-
' cred Life of our sweet Sovereign hath been
' sought and endangered.

' The

‘ The Boldness of the *Jesuits*, and *Seminaries*, is greatly increased, and they be very diligent to pervert; which their often and ordinary published Pamphlets, to every Man’s View, well testifieth, and apparently sheweth the Perverseness of their Spirits, and Corruptness of their Hearts. And the Multitude being perverted, what Danger this may breed to the State, and our Sovereign Queen, judge you.

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

‘ For my Part, I am, and will be ready to lay my Life at her Feet, to do her Service; we had need to have special Care of them, for themselves do brag they have forty Thousand true hearted *Catholics* (for so they call them) in *England*; besides, their Retinue, poor *Catholics* and *Neuters*, and I know not what. It is therefore fit, we look to this dangerous Case, and not to think ourselves secure, because we find no Harm: For it is a true Position, That Security without Providence, is most dangerous.

‘ I conclude only with this Desire, that those who have supreme Authority, will look that those who have inferior Government, may do faithfully; and that we may be kept in Obedience.’

We have now gone through all the material Transactions and Debates which happened in this Parliament.

On the 19th of *December*, Her Majesty, with divers Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being set in the Upper House in their Parliament Robes, between Two and Three in the Afternoon, the House of Commons had Notice thereof, and thereupon repaired thither with *John Crooke*, Esq; Recorder of *London*, their Speaker, who being placed at the Rail, or Bar, at the lower End of the said Upper House, after he had made three Reverences to her Majesty, sitting under a rich Cloth of State, spake to this Effect following.

The Speaker’s
Speech to the
Queen at the
Close of the
Session.

‘ That Laws were not at first made with humane Pen, but by divine Ordinance; That po-
litick

Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

litick Laws were made according to the evil Conditions of Men, and that all Laws serve not for all Times, no more than one Medicine for all Diseases; if he were asked, what were the First and chiefest Thing to be considered, he would say, *Religion*. So Religion is all in all, for Religion breeds Devotion; Devotion breeds Zeal and Piety to God, which breedeth Obedience and Duty to the Prince, and Obedience of the Laws, which breedeth Faithfulness and Honesty and Love; three necessary and only Things, to be wished and observed in a well-governed Common-Wealth. And that her Majesty, by planting true Religion, had laid such a Foundation upon which all those Virtues were so planted and builded, that they could not easily be rooted up and extirpated. And therefore he did acknowledge that we will praise God and her Majesty for it. And then he descended to speak of Governments and Laws of Nations, among and above all which, he principally prefer'd the Laws of this Land, which he said were so many and so wise, that there was almost no Offence but was met with in a Law. Notwithstanding her Majesty being desirous, for the Good of her Land, to call a Parliament for Redress of some old Laws, and making some new, her dutiful and loving Subjects having considered of them, have made some new, and amended some old, which they humbly desire may be made Laws by her most Royal Assent which giveth Life unto them. And so, after Thanks given for the Pardon, by which we dread your Justice and admire your Mercy, and a Prayer unto her Majesty that she would accept, as the Testimonies of our Love and Duty offered unto her, with a free Heart and willing Spirit, four entire Subsidies and Eight Fifteenths and Tenths, to be collected of our Lands and Livelihoods; and having craved Pardon for his Offence, if either he had forgotten himself in Word or Action, he ended.

The

The which the Lord Keeper answered thus in Effect. 'First, as touching her Majesty's proceedings in the Laws for her Royal Assent, that should be as God should direct her Sacred Spirit. Secondly, For your Presentation of four Subsidies and Eight Fifteenths and Tenths; Thirdly, your humble Thankfulness for the Pardon, for them and yourself; I will deliver her Majesty's Commandment with what Brevity I may, that I be not tedious to my most gracious Sovereign. First she saith, touching your Proceeding in the Matter of her Prerogative, that she is perswaded Subjects did never more dutifully; and that she understood you did but *obiter* touch her Prerogative, and no otherwise but by humble Petition; and therefore, that Thanks that a Prince may give to her Subjects, she willingly yieldeth: But she now well perceiveth, that private Respects are privately masqued under public Pretence. Secondly, touching the Presentation of your Subsidy, she specially regardeth two Things, both the Persons and the Manner; for the first, she fell into Commendations of the Commonalty; for the second, the Manner, which was speedy, not by Persuasion or persuasive Inducements, but freely out of Duty with great Contentment. In the Thing which ye have granted, her Majesty greatly commendeth your Confidence and Judgment; and though it be not proportionable to her Occasions, yet she most thankfully receiveth the same as a loving and thankful Prince; and that no Prince was ever more unwilling to exact or receive any thing from the Subject than she, our most gracious Sovereign; for we all know she never was a greedy Grasper nor strait-handed Keeper; and therefore she commanded me to say, that you have done (and so she taketh it) dutifully, plentifully and thankfully.'

'For yourself, Mr Speaker, her Majesty commanded me to say, that you have proceeded

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Queen Elizabeth.
1601.

The Lord Keeper's Answer.

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Queen Elizabeth. 1603. 'with such Wisdom and Discretion, that it is
'much to your Commendations; and that none
'before you hath deserved more.'

And so he ended, after an Admonition given to the Justices of the Peace, 'That they would not
'deserve the Epithets of prolling Justices, Justices of Quarrels, who counted Champerty good
'Chevesance, Sinning Justices who do suck and
'consume the Wealth and Good of the Common-
'Wealth; and also against those who lie (if not
'all the Year, yet) at least three Quarters of the
'Year in this City of London.'

The Parliament dissolv'd. After all this, and the Queen's Royal Assent given to nineteen Public Acts and ten Private, the Lord Keeper, by her Majesty's Command, dissolv'd this Parliament.

The Death of the Queen. We have now done with the last Parliament of Queen *Elizabeth*, which she surviv'd only about two Years, dying in a good old Age, at her Manor of *Richmond*, *March* the 24th, *Anno* 1603, in the 44th Year of her Reign; which Day, being *Thursday*, old *Stowe* makes this whimsical Remark: 'That it was a Day of the Week fatal to *Henry VIII*, and all his Posterity: For he died on *Thursday*, *January* the 28th; King *Edward*, on *Thursday* the 6th of *July*; Queen *Mary*, on *Thursday* the 17th of *November*; and Queen *Elizabeth*, on *Thursday*, *March* the 24th.'

This Queen was the first that suppress'd all Manner of base Money in *England*, and reduced the *English* Coin into Gold and Silver.—In her Reign, considering the great Extent of it, were fewer Parliaments than in any of her immediate Predecessors. In the Course of Forty-four Years, she had but nine or ten Parliaments which sat to do Business; and she kept one near eleven Years, by a Multitude of Prorogations, with very few Sessions in it.—But then the Speeches and Debates, in most of these Parliaments, are more amply preserved than in any before. By which the Reader

is

is entertained with the Sentiments and politic Views ^{Queen Elizabeth,}
of all the greatest Statesmen, Courtiers, and Anti-
Courtiers of that Age, as near as possible, in their
own Words and Expressions. — Besides, The
Character of the Queen herself, will better appear
by her Conduct, Messages and Speeches to her
Parliaments, than in any other View whatsoever.

at Mrs. 10/11/27.

The END of the FOURTH VOLUME.



OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

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The END of the Fourth Volume.

